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Chicago Recreation Survey

VOLUME V

Recommendations of the Commission and Summary of Findings

1940

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CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY

VOLUME V

RECOMMENDATIONS

adopted by the

CHICAGO RECREATION COMMISSION

On the basis of the
Findings of the

CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY

A project sponsored jointly by the

CHICAGO RECREATION COMMISSION

and

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

and

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

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Edited by

ARTHUR J. TODD, *Chairman,*
Department of Sociology, Northwestern University

CHICAGO

1940

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

To the Honorable Mayor and City Council
City of Chicago

On behalf of the Chicago Recreation Commission, I am pleased to present to you herewith the Recommendations it has formulated on the basis of the Chicago Recreation Survey. Also included in this volume is the Summary of Findings which has been prepared by the editor, Dr. Arthur J. Todd.

The Recommendations have been very carefully studied, for over a year and one-half, by the members of the Commission and by committees appointed for the purpose, and each word has been carefully weighed. Special sub-committees, including representatives of various public and private agencies concerned, have also reviewed specific recommendations.

The Findings of the first four volumes of the Survey are not to be considered as the statement of the Commission, for their text is that of the editor, Dr. Todd, who takes full responsibility for them. The Commission includes them in this volume because of their obvious value in presenting, in more detail than is possible in the Recommendations, the information on which many of the recommendations are based.

The publication of this volume completes the second phase of a task we undertook several years ago with your approval and which we have carried through with your understanding support. The Chicago Recreation Commission will, of course, continue its work and its further study in terms of the general principles here presented.

We recognize, however, that it rests with the citizenry of Chicago whether or not these principles become realities. We now confidently hope that the City of Chicago through its Mayor and its City Council, and with the support of all other bodies concerned with the good and welfare of the city, will utilize both the Survey and the Recommendations based upon it as a recreation charter to be thoroughly studied and implemented. The plans given in it look ahead for at least the next quarter of a century, and while we do not expect their immediate accomplishment, we trust that these recommendations may be regarded as standards on which Chicago's future plans for recreation will be based.

This study has had the personal attention of Dr. Todd from its very inception. He has given literally hundreds of hours of thoughtful and careful consideration to it and sacrificed more than one-half of his sabbatical year in its interest. The Commission as well as the citizens of Chicago as a whole, owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Todd for the excellent work he has done and to the members of his committee: Mr. V. K. Brown, Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, Mr. Henry T. Chamberlain, and the Very Rev. M. J. O'Connell.

Very respectfully yours,
Philip L. Seman, Chairman.

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PREFACE

With this fifth volume of the Recreation Survey, a six year task is brought to a close. It would be impossible to compact within these few pages the vast array of factual data already gathered and published. They speak for themselves. Yet their very bulk requires that at least their high lights and implications be concisely brought out. This is the purpose of the Findings which constitute the second part of this volume. It is not claimed that these Findings tell the whole story: they rather 'point up' the facts and set out certain interrelations. The attentive reader is always presumed to draw his own conclusions and arrive at his own judgments. But summaries have their value as time-savers and clarifiers. Let that be the justification, if any be required, for the Findings. Their form is the work of the editor although they have been subjected to scrutiny and criticism by the membership of the Recreation Commission for over a year.

The Recommendations which constitute the first part of this volume are in a sense the specific objective of the whole Survey project. For from the beginning it has been hoped that the four published volumes of facts would not be suffered to gather dust on library shelves but would enter into the consciousness of civic leaders in Chicago and elsewhere and would implement recreation policy in this City for a generation to come.

The facts and findings had thus to be brought to focus in a statement of principles and a set of recommendations suitable for presentation to the Mayor and City Council which created the Recreation Commission. Hence these recommendations must be kept within hail of realizable ideals, must be clear cut, must be stimulating and not merely provocative, and must be adjusted to the level of enlightened public opinion and democratic procedures. Two conditions had to be met: first, it was necessary to attain a certain least common denominator of opinion and judgment among the fifty-four members of the Recreation Commission. Second, it was essential that the recommendations be so inherently reasonable and related to fact as to elicit active interest and cooperation of the legislative and executive bodies from whom action must derive. Hence these recommendations are not the vehicle of mere personal whim or fad or prejudice. They represent the result of a democratic process of discussion and consideration, by which has been secured such wholesome difference of opinion as will preserve vitality of thought while at the same time not obscuring sound policy nor hindering effective administration.

Throughout these discussions and throughout the recommendations it has been clearly understood that the Recreation Commission is not an

executive nor legislative body, nor even a "reform" organization. It is a group of counselors, strategists,—shall we say, statesmen in public welfare policy. The Recreation Commission in this report as in its other activities is not setting itself up in gratuitous judgment upon other public or private agencies nor telling other people how to run their affairs except indeed insofar as concerns recreation, for which latter purpose it was called officially into existence and which indeed constitutes its only reason for being.

It would be unwise to attempt for purposes of this report a too highly specific set of recommendations; it would seem wiser to lay down principles and to point the way to major strategy, leaving a flexible execution of declared policies in the hands of competent administration.

It is vastly easier to suggest, for example, increased park facilities or to recommend changes in recreational policies and personnel than it is to find either the money or the skill. They are not subjects for quick offhand discussion; they require deep study and experiment before deciding on a definite policy. The following recommendations grow out of the five year study given by the Recreation Survey staff, the report of the Citizens' Committee and of Mr. L. H. Weir, in July, 1938, and many months' consideration by the Chicago Recreation Commission.

In matters of material equipment and provision of facilities for recreation, the Survey spared no pains to assemble factual data. Insofar as recommendations are based on such ascertained facts, we feel that they have substantial justification.

In the conduct of the Survey, there were neither sufficient and competent personnel nor approved procedures for evaluating highly technical operations or intangible attitudes, however real and important they may be. Critical appraisals in these areas were by general agreement held to be outside the primary purposes of the Survey. Hence recommendations in such areas are based on judgment and common knowledge, rather than detailed research.

In the body of the Survey, the enormous disproportion has been pointed out between the so-called marginal and dubious forms of commercial recreation and its more constructive forms. It has been shown how liquor, gambling and vice swallow up enormous sums of money which might otherwise be available for the support of more rational and constructive private, commercial or public recreation. It is obvious that public schools, private instructional agencies and every other educational resource should be mobilized for the inculcating of sound social ethics and recrea-

tional values. Prohibitive and restrictive legislation must rest upon consent of a working majority of the governed.

We do not recommend the creation of new pressure groups to work upon public schools, churches, the press, etc. But we do urge that by every possible means of instruction and communication (schools, libraries, pulpits, service clubs, business associations, radio, moving pictures, newspapers, women's clubs, etc.) a strong body of dynamic public opinion, unafraid and aggressive in opposition to possible apathy, laxness or corruption, constantly informed and continuously active, be developed which will be clear as to the need, positive as to objective, and united in support of law enforcement.

It will be noted that the Recommendations which follow do not enter into the details of administration nor prescribe exactly what should be done within each area of the city. The Findings describe certain typical adverse conditions which of themselves hint the proper measures needed to overcome them. But, since communities are alive and therefore constantly in flux, it seems wiser to lay down certain general principles of major strategy, so to speak, and to leave to the proper advisory and administrative bodies the task of applying those principles and declared policies to individual cases as they arise.

CHICAGO RECREATION COMMISSION.

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SECTION A

Recreational Planning

CITY-WIDE RECREATION PLAN

LOCAL RECREATION PROBLEMS

ADDITIONAL FACILITIES

CONTINUANCE OF STUDY

City-Wide Recreation Plan

1. COMPREHENSIVE RECREATION PLAN

The Chicago Recreation Commission in cooperation with the Chicago Plan Commission, or some other public body, should undertake responsibility for a comprehensive plan for bringing Chicago's parks, playgrounds and other recreation facilities and services, both private and public, to the highest attainable standards in equipment, operation, and inter-agency coordination, and for maintaining their service and facilities at such high standards. We recognize the fact that despite reduction in personnel made necessary by decreased operating funds, until of late years the public recreation service (in the words of the Weir report) is "chronically undermanned", there has been nevertheless a steady effort toward lifting of service to higher levels. But still unattained there are standards the desirability of which we believe should be accepted as an ideal and an objective toward which to work.

Thought must be given to adapting the services, not only to the present needs of the population but to future needs for at least a generation in advance. Attention should be given in such planning to shifts in population and to the needs of areas of the city which are at present without facilities.

2. DISTRIBUTION OF FACILITIES

Steps should be taken toward a well thought out distribution of smaller parks and playgrounds and other such facilities throughout the city. Our Findings clearly reveal the very considerable number of community areas now lacking in recreational facilities.

We endorse the suggestion of the Chicago Regional Planning Association advancing a standard of neighborhood parks of not less than ten (10) acres for each square mile, and one larger area of a minimum of forty (40) acres for each four (4) square miles, as a desirable plan for the future.

We concur in the statement of L. H. Weir that it is desirable that senior, and sometimes junior, high schools, should have sites of sufficient size to correspond to neighborhood parks, and to be used as such, and accept the minimum size set by leading school planners for senior high schools, namely twenty (20) acres.

3. CLOSER COORDINATION OF PUBLIC AGENCIES

Since recreational opportunities cannot be increased by mere expansion of space or multiplication of equipment, the public facilities of the city, notably those under the control of the three separate bodies, the Park District, the Bureau of Parks, Recreation and Aviation, and the Bureau of Recreation of the Board of Education, should be more closely coordinated, if not indeed eventually consolidated insofar as is practicable. There should be as between these bodies constant interchange of information and cooperative planning. A joint policy as to standards of equipment, of costs, and of personnel should be developed.

4. RE-ZONING

There is urgent need for a rezoning of Chicago based upon land utilization, shifts in population, changes in population density, and types of dwellings. Some of these facts were apparently not taken into consideration in the zoning act of 1923. The detailed maps in Volume IV, in which the population, zoning, recreation and other data are indicated for each of the seventy-five community areas, clearly reveal this crying need. We commend the Chicago Plan Commission in its vigorous attack upon this problem.

5. HOUSING AREA RECREATION

In view of the foregoing and other facts, it is essential that all new housing developments provide space and equipment for proper recreation in order at least not to burden still further existing park and play areas which appear to be used already most intensively. In order to achieve this purpose, public and private recreational agencies must interlock their activities with those of the housing authorities and private developments. The planning of recreational facilities for housing developments should take into counsel city planners and sociologists as well as recreational consultants to assure the integration of such projects with other plans. We endorse therefore the following statement from the resolution passed at the 23rd National Recreation Congress held in 1938:

> "In this rush to build with the corollary new concentrations of population the permanent preservation of adequate nearby outdoor recreation areas is in danger of being neglected. Such a mistake now may handicap the community for years and be corrected only at greater expenditure and work years later after all the vacant lots are sold and built upon."

It is realized that the proper coordination of park and other recreation facilities with the development of housing projects is basically the function

of good city planning toward the end of achieving a well-laid out and thus a stabilized community. In the methods of putting such program into effect proper coordination between the activities of these agencies and the housing agencies, as well as a proper division of responsibility, should be worked out in the acquisition of land, in furnishing of equipment, as well as in the operation of such facilities. We urge in the strongest possible terms that such mistakes as have been made, for example in the Jane Addams Housing Project in Chicago, or in certain projects in New York and elsewhere, should not be repeated. We urge specifically, therefore, that all such housing propects include adequate provision of recreation, indoor and outdoor, not only for young children but for all ages, space and equipment for the larger as well as for more restricted types of play and sport, and expert leadership and supervision.

6. UNIT BUILDING OF RECREATION CENTERS

While certain of the comprehensive types of buildings will be needed from time to time as recreational centers, it is recommended that where funds are not immediately available, buildings be built unit by unit, progressively, as funds become available, those units of the ultimate buildings being provided first which are adapted to meet the most urgent community needs, either in equipment of present sites or on new park or playground sites, or in providing for wider use of shores and beaches.

7. GOLF COURSES

It is probable that the present park space allocated to golf courses could be even further reduced. The elimination of nine-hole golf courses already accomplished seems to have made possible better utilization of that space. Further study of such things as the growing number of daily fee courses surrounding Chicago is desirable.

8. BICYCLE FACILITIES

On account of the rapid increase of interest in bicycles and because of the increasing traffic hazards at present attendant upon their use, prompt and earnest study of the whole bicycle problem is highly desirable. Meanwhile definite traffic controls should be established, and more adequate facilities provided for bicyclists in public parks and along highways, with special emphasis upon safe highways leading cyclists out of the city and into the Forest Preserves, or the open country of the city's hinterlands.

Local Recreation Problems

9. STUDY OF LOCAL NEEDS

The location of buildings and of apparatus has much to do with hampering or facilitating the use of playgrounds. No absolutely Procrustean design can be laid down for every play area in the city. Here adaptation and not uniformity should be the guiding principle; but to secure that adaptation the needs of the community and the best possible layout should be coupled up.

10. LOCAL REQUESTS FOR ADDITIONAL FACILITIES

Various community areas of Chicago have requested study of their local recreational problems, and in some cases have urged approval and active support of specific plans. These recommendations are designed to lay down general principles and policies as a guide to planning and administrative bodies. To include in them detailed recommendations as to specific local areas and problems would defeat the primary purpose of this Recreation Survey. It would discourage that very process of "continuous inventory" which we recommend as necessary to meet changing facts and conditions. It might easily distort the true picture of local community needs by giving consideration piecemeal to each request out of its relationship to the total city needs, and by giving preference to those communities with clear cut community consciousness and aggressive citizen groups able to make their wants known; thus areas long known for their chronic neglect and disadvantage might be overlooked in favor of newer younger outlying communities where the need is prospective rather than present emergency. This must not be construed as favoring rehabilitation to the exclusion of prevention, for both these purposes must enter community planning. To insure the elimination of mere pressure politics and to secure the most nearly just and scientific plan for meeting the entire city's recreational needs the following procedure is recommended:

First, any and all requests from local areas for parks, playgrounds or other recreational provisions, received by whatever official or department of the city government, should automatically be referred promptly to the Chicago Recreation Commission for primary investigation and study;

Second, if such request after preliminary study seems to merit more thorough consideration, it should be studied jointly by the Recreation Commission and Chicago Plan Commission as suggested in section 1 of these recommendations;

Third, such joint study of accumulating local problems should before too long result in setting up a well considered program for extensions and improvements of service with a fairly well defined schedule of "priorities of need" flexible enough to be adapted to radically changed conditions;

Fourth, local communities should be encouraged and stimulated by the Recreation Commission, school authorities, Park District leaders, and local improvement committees to generate local informed public sentiment as a means of spreading an understanding of the whole city's recreational needs as well as of interpreting the local communities' desires and needs;

Fifth, the Recreation Commission Survey Study Committee should be continued as the Commission's expert body for this work of study and investigation, its work to be financed out of the Commission's budget.

Additional Facilities

11. ACREAGE AND FACILITIES INCREASE

The park acreage and play facilities of Chicago should be multiplied several fold in order to conform to well accepted standards.

12. FOREST PRESERVES AND GOVERNMENT CAMPS

A closer working relationship between the city recreational authorities and the Forest Preserve authorities could undoubtedly secure a better utilization of outlying facilities for purposes of picnics, camping, etc. Nevertheless, a proper coordination should be worked out between these respective authorities by means of which the larger, outlying Forest Preserves may be maintained for their original purpose as distinct from the intensive utilization of city play space. However, even though it has an extensive system of forest preserves, Chicago is still conspicuously lacking in governmentally-owned camps. In the face of a national, if not a world-wide trend toward provision, by public bodies, of facilities of this nature, this city has taken no steps to develop these highly valuable features of a recreation service. We recommend that the Cook County Forest Preserves either themselves or by cooperating arrangements with the Park District or the city, undertake an expanding program of instituting and of providing for the operation of camping, organized and available at minimum expense to the masses of the city's population.

13. VACANT LOT PLAY SPACES

This Survey has brought out the large number of potential play spaces so far undeveloped in various parts of the city. Undoubtedly the Land Utilization Survey, when completed, will have brought to light even more of these spots. It is recommended that through district committees or through private recreational agencies, through teachers and public recreation leaders, the local communities be stirred up to assume responsibility for promoting these smaller play spaces in large number. It has been proposed that the City of Chicago work out some arrangement by means of which its recreational authorities could take over for, say, a ten, or at least a five year period, small parcels of private property which they would equip properly and upon which taxes might be remitted for the period of their recreational use. Whether this plan is practicable or not, the Recreation Commission, the district committees, local civic associations and others could stimulate the utilization at least temporarily of privately owned vacant lots. While it almost goes without saying that for any intensive play program a minimum of skilled leadership is essential even to these small vacant lot play spaces, nevertheless, certain simple types of utilization can be made successful without trained personnel. In such cases it is essential, however, that the community in general and particularly property owners in the immediate neighborhood of such vacant play lots be made more than merely tolerant or acquiescent, but rather be stimulated to welcome and assume responsibility and guidance for such experiments in full realization that a play space so far unregulated as to permit the strong to monopolize it, to bully and dominate the weak, soon degenerates into a recreational slum, which is a community liability rather than an asset.

14. FEDERAL COOPERATION

The Commission expresses its appreciation of the valuable contribution to the city's recreation in these times of stress through grants of funds for rehabilitating, improving and extending public facilities and through grants of personnel to both public and private agencies. We recommend that this expression of appreciation be extended to the local representatives of the Work Projects Administration and the National Youth Administration and that their continued support and interest be solicited. In line with this recommendation such public recreation agencies as have not already utilized the possible services of the Work Projects Administration and the National Youth Administration are urged to examine their equipment and personnel to the end of taking advantage of present possibilities of such federal aid.

Continuance of Study

15. CONTINUOUS RECREATION INVENTORY

The Commission recommends that adequate funds be made available to it and other public agencies for research and publication in the field of recreation, including what might be termed a continuous inventory of all phases of recreation which will keep up to date the facts and findings of this Survey.

16. FUTURE RECREATION STUDIES

At different points in these findings and recommendations certain points for further study have been specified. Here certain others may be mentioned and those elsewhere noted may be reiterated. For example, it is imperative that standards or norms for recreational service, equipment and personnel be studied and that the study involve sociological, psychological and economic considerations as well as those of engineering and topography. The study of home play is necessary, together with further study of individual recreation choices. Such studies are being carried on now by graduate students at the local universities, but it is highly conceivable that their studies will by no means exhaust the subject. Means for competing in both public and private recreational fields with the marginal commercialized forms of recreation (liquor, vice and gambling) need exhaustive research and experimentation.

17. COOPERATION BETWEEN PLANNING BODIES

One of the first clear conclusions from the Recreation Survey was the need of greater coordination in the field of planning for the city's development and services, including recreation. We therefore highly commend the recent action of the Mayor and City Council in establishing the Chicago Plan Commission as an integral part of Chicago's governmental activity.

SECTION B

Recreational Facilities

INCREASED USE OF EXISTING RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

EXTENDED USE OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS

IMPROVEMENT IN PUBLIC FACILITIES

PRIVATE RECREATION AGENCIES

Increased Use of Existing Recreational Facilities

18. FLEXIBLE FACILITIES

The principle of multiple use of facilities should be more generally followed. Two types of equipment can be installed following the nature of the location and the neighborhood needs. The permanent equipment is essential for basic continuing needs, but there is a possibility also of what might be termed flexible or convertible space and apparatus. Such convertible facilities are particularly desirable in some of the smaller play spaces where the needs of the community are being felt out.

19. NIGHT LIGHTING AND FACILITIES

To increase still further the utilization of present play facilities a larger use of night lighting is recommended. Chicago lags behind other cities in lighted areas for night use. The city needs installation of apparatus and facilities adapted to night use, particularly by working people. Such equipment should include seats for spectators, handball courts, shuffleboard, tennis, horseshoe courts and also, to a somewhat lesser extent, facilities for sports requiring larger space.

20. MORNING AND VACATION USE OF FACILITIES

There is an increasing demand for year-round morning use of public play facilities, particularly for the benefit of smaller children. Undoubtedly this is needed as is the opening of schools after regular class hours in the day and in the evenings. It would seem wise to extend morning use of these facilities in certain areas where the need seems greatest and to study further the problem before launching wholesale into this new development. It is at this point that a careful canvass of all existing facilities should be made, including those of the park system, the school board and private agencies. The same recommendation holds for such a special problem as that of school children during the summer vacation period. Here, particularly, a much more intelligent use of school facilities could be made through closer cooperation between the school authorities, the park authorities and private agencies.

Extended Use of Public Buildings

21. ADAPTING SCHOOL BUILDINGS TO RECREATION

Recreation facilities of the Chicago Public Schools should be improved, extended and utilized more effectively. No school hereafter should be erected in Chicago that does not provide on its site for adequate outdoor recreation and within its walls for at least a minimum of recognized play activities. Older school buildings should be remodeled and reconditioned to provide for proper indoor play facilities. Since the Board of Education through different departments, bureaus, and educational services is conducting leisure time activities or educating in many ways for the use of leisure, it is recommended that it develop a more effective inter-relationship between these activities which would coordinate and enrich the service to the individual and the community and would facilitate relationships with other recreational agencies. This might entail changes in the present administrative and legislative frame work. The utilization and programs of public school facilities should be correlated as a matter of ordinary routine with those of other public and private agencies. In this way by a proper division of field more complete coverage of the city's recreational needs can be secured without duplication.

22. WIDER USE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Chicago lags far behind most other large American cities in the use of school buildings as civic centers. The general wider use of the public school plant for recreational purposes on a city-wide basis would be an economical method of improving the whole recreation picture of the city. The experiment recently inaugurated by the Superintendent of Schools of opening certain schools for social dancing for young people one night a week is a tentative move in this direction. The opening of the public schools for distinctly community purposes after day school hours both afternoon and evening on a city-wide plan, coordinated with all public and private recreational agencies, is recommended. But in extending the use of schools (and other public facilities) to community groups two principles must be safe-guarded through intelligent selective leadership; first, all activities should be open to the community and no group should be permitted to establish anything like a monopoly of the privileges; second, a program of the highest standard should be encouraged, and protection assured against questionable activities. An expertly supervised school community center should provide a well-rounded program meeting the diverse

needs of all the people in the community, including active games and dancing; vocational interest groups, looking toward an increased efficiency in daily life; creative and artistic outlets, such as arts and crafts, dramatics, writing and music; citizenship and Americanization classes; adult and workers education; and discussions of civic interest.

23. IMPLEMENTING WIDER USE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

It is recommended that the strongest possible representations be made to the Board of Education that the present powers of the Board to open schools in the evening for community purposes be utilized. If Section 136 of the present school law applying to Chicago, which reads:

> "The Board may grant the use of assembly halls and class rooms when not otherwise needed, including light, heat and attendants, for free public lectures, concerts and other educational and social interests, free of charge, but under such provisions and control as the Board may see fit",

is deemed by the Board inadequate to warrant its immediate meeting of this need, it is recommended that the statute be amended (possibly by the substitution of "shall grant" for "may grant") so as to make clear that this service is one of the regular parts of an adequate school program.

If the Board of Education is in accord with this plan for opening schools as civic centers, but pleads insufficient funds, we recommend a careful study of the budget, particularly the non-instructional part of the budget with the purpose of effecting such economies and shifts of funds as will provide for this purpose, or failing this we recommend an application to the legislature for additional general taxing powers which will make it possible for the Board of Education to secure the additional revenue for the purpose under consideration.

24. LIBRARY FACILITIES

A practical combination of public library facilities with the other public recreational agencies is highly desirable. Since they are all supported by public taxes, it is a matter of economy for them to work together as far as possible. The budget of the public library for building purposes seems to be insufficient to provide an adequate system of branches, especially in the outlying residential sections of the city. The need for library service in these areas is unquestioned; evidently it can be met only if a cooperative policy is set up between the parks and the library, and the schools and the library. New school buildings, especially in outlying areas, should be planned to include a library wing; provision should be made for heating and lighting for the library section in school buildings, for regular library hours; the wing should also be accessible to the outside as well as to the

school. If necessary, some equitable adjustment for heat and light service should be arranged between the school and the library boards. If possible, there should be no further charge to the library inasmuch as the service it furnishes is used by school children as well as adults, and along with the schools is maintained out of the public treasury.

The best of all park arrangements is illustrated in Sherman Park where the Chicago Park District granted a piece of land to the Chicago Public Library for the erection of its own building at library expense. Provision for adequate library quarters should be included in all future neighborhood park developments, either through setting aside a location on which the library may erect its own library building or through the planning of ample accommodations in the park fieldhouse proper. Branch libraries which are in special library buildings in parks should stand as near the street as possible. People using library service come from far distances and ordinarily remain just long enough to exchange books. Wherever libraries have had their own buildings in park areas, experience has shown that service is handicapped when such buildings are too far removed from surrounding streets. In most of the present library quarters in park fieldhouses the space is inadequate for good service. In such places efforts should be made by the park board to improve the physical conditions in the libraries. In commending the Chicago Park District for the courtesies already extended to the Library, it is suggested that hereafter effort be made on the part of both the library and the park system to cooperate more fully in promoting their mutual programs.

25. EXTENSION OF LIBRARY SERVICE

In addition, the Commission recommends that the library develop more sub-branches or depots, or utilize more fully the possibility of ambulatory service. This is in line with support for the general program of extension announced by the Chicago Public Library over twenty years ago. The Commission urges that every possible effort be made to keep continually before the public this plan and what needs to be done to put it into effect. Since the city of Chicago falls far short of the standard laid down by the American Library Association, namely, an expenditure of one dollar per capita per year for library services, we recommend an increase in the funds available for library support. We recommend also a considerable increase in the number of books available in all fields, including fiction. Since reading is one of the most popular forms of recreation and the library is therefore included as a recreational agency, there is no sound reason why fiction should be slighted as an item in the purchase of books. If it is argued that the providing of fiction is primarily the job of commercial

agencies, notably the private lending libraries, our conclusion is that this extension of the public library service would not destroy private lending libraries, but would merely provide books for people of the City of Chicago who are now unable to patronize either commercial book stores for purchase of books or lending libraries for their rental.

26. MUSEUMS AS PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

The Commission recommends that a more intensive study of the various museums in Chicago be undertaken from the standpoint of trends in patronage, finance and inter-relationships. Meanwhile, the Commission recommends specifically that the various museums experiment with a policy of eliminating all admission fees. As a further measure of attracting a larger public interest, it is recommended that the hours of opening be extended and that particularly the plan of opening in the evening be considered. Since this would undoubtedly add to the cost of operation, it will be necessary to increase the mill tax now available for museum purposes.

Since the Museum of Science and Industry now receives nothing from this mill tax, it should be included at once. The Field Museum, the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Academy of Sciences, and the Art Institute are also hampered by lack of funds, hence have had to limit acquisitions, publications and educational service. Adequate funds should be provided not only to safeguard against curtailment of their services, but to permit of their increase in line with demonstrated public needs. While in the past it has been a policy to look to private benefactors for the creation, maintenance and enrichment of these institutions, and although they offer still and will continue to offer a commendable object of beneficence, the time has come when a great city like Chicago should recognize these phases of culture, education and recreation as part of public responsibility.

27. FURTHER USE OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

Further study is necessary to uncover potential recreational resources in public buildings already existing or which may be planned primarily for other than purely recreational purposes, for example, the various armories in the city. A better working understanding should be reached between such of these armories as are distinctly state property, those which are locally controlled and the public recreational authorities on whose property some are located. In so far as possible some consistent policy should be followed by these armories. The Commission is strongly of the opinion that it is not consistent to rent such properties for distinctly commercial enterprises while withholding them during their unscheduled hours from utilization by the Park District. In this connection there is an immediate need for

arriving at some long range policy. Because the Park District is not permitted to utilize strategically located armories, it is now considering the erection of at least four large sized indoor arenas for the purpose of putting on its mass recreation activities. But this is simply a further example of the possible need for continued exploratory and advisory work of the Recreation Commission in its function of thinking ahead for at least a generation so far as Chicago's recreation is concerned.

Improvement in Public Facilities

28. DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERLY ISLAND

The Northerly Island, which has been the subject of so much discussion, should be devoted to recreational uses to meet needs not provided for elsewhere. It should be maintained rather as a sanctuary than as merely another conventional park or amusement center.

29. PROTECTION AND IMPROVEMENT OF BEACHES

The Lake Michigan beaches and shores should be protected and improved. Certain portions of the shore line which are now scarcely more than rock piles could be transformed into sand beaches. We commend the decision of the Park District to construct sand beaches for shore protection in preference to costly and short-lived bulkheads. These beaches should be used not only for swimming, but also for other recreational purposes. They should be further equipped with attractive seats, awnings, fireplaces, beach picnic ovens, council rings, occasional shade trees to heighten a sylvan aspect and other devices which would permit thousands of people not interested in bathing to benefit from the light, air and water so abundantly offered by Lake Michigan.

We concur in the Weir report recommending future building of promontories here and there, similar to the one at 55th Street, to provide occasional restful spots along the shore reserved for those who seek quiet relaxation within sight of the waters, rather than sports or bathing.

30. IMPROVEMENT OF PARKS AND FIELDHOUSES

Certain specific improvements need to be made in public recreation equipment; some of the fieldhouses need reconditioning and in many cases reconstruction and rearrangement; the program of modernization and chlorination of out-door swimming pools, especially in view of the new state law, needs to be continued.

We concur in the recommendation of L. H. Weir to re-design . . . "many of the neighborhood recreation parks for the purpose of increasing

the recreation area. In general, the percentage of the total area allotted to recreation should be higher than 50%. In small areas, under six or eight acres, in densely populated neighborhoods, it would be in harmony with the primary purpose of this type of park to allot as much as 90% for active recreation. . . . If the 98 neighborhood parks now developed for recreational use had been designed so that least 50% could be used for active recreation, there would be in use approximately 150 more acres than are now available."

Private Recreation Agencies

31. PRIVATE RECREATION AGENCIES

Public agencies have so far received major attention in these Recommendations because they bulk so large in scope, facilities, personnel and costs. Moreover the trend (as in relief work) is distinctly toward a larger assumption of responsibility for provision and conducting of recreational facilities for the great masses of our city's people. The foregoing Recommendations are to be construed as constructively pointing the way to protecting, sustaining and stimulating public agencies at the highest possible level of their effectiveness.

But the private agencies must not be overlooked. We record here the great service which private recreational agencies render in the total recreation complex of the city. We commend their pioneering in various forms of recreation; we appreciate their contributions to the maintenance of skilled group-work personnel; and we urge that their activities be sustained and extended as of inestimable value to the life of the city. We recommend particularly that they be called in to counsel on matters of general recreation planning and strategy for the city as a whole. We recommend that their intimate knowledge of neighborhood conditions be utilized by the Park District, the school authorities and others responsible for the city's policy. We recommend on the other hand that all the private agencies keep themselves well informed as to the purposes, philosophy, plans and projects of the various public recreational agencies. The Council of Social Agencies and its appropriate committees offer the opportunity to serve as a valuable intermediary.

In view of the trend toward public agencies, and the difficulties of financing private social work, we recommend that the various boys' and

girls' service agencies, settlements, social centers and church recreational agencies re-study their whole situation from the standpoint of location, costs, control, program, personnel and community needs to assure economical, constructive, needed service to the community and non-duplication of effort.

Since the whole question of boys' clubs has taken on nationally a controversial aspect we recommend that this subject as well as that of the need for girls' clubs and the claims for co-recreational clubs and centers be studied intensively by the Recreation Commission and/or the Council of Social Agencies.

We urge that those service agencies for young men and women, boys and girls whose appeal is now limited by relatively high membership and other fees or equipment costs re-evaluate their whole objective, program, and methods in view of shifting social situations.

Since the existence of hundreds of spontaneous so-called basement clubs indicates that neither private nor public agencies reach large masses of our city's youth, we recommend that a special study of these clubs be undertaken.

We recommend that religious agencies be encouraged to utilize more largely their recreational opportunities without in the slightest attempting to substitute them for their primary and distinctive spiritual activities and services.

We urge closer cooperation between churches, private secular recreational and service agencies themselves and between all public and private agencies, with the understanding that the move to cooperate must come from all agencies concerned and that to bring this to pass various experiments (such as district committees, coordinating councils, area projects) be tried.

We recommend that both private and public agencies strive for such a high parity of personnel standards and performance that there may be a healthy interchange of workers and methods without in any way sacrificing agency stability.

SECTION C

Recreational Activities

ENCOURAGEMENT OF NEW TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

WIDER PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES

Encouragement of New Types of Activities

32. WATER SPORTS

The increasing popularity of water sports indicates the need for more anchorage basins for future development, wider use of the lagoons, the encouragement of such activities as boating, canoeing, and sea scouting.

33. ENCOURAGEMENT OF MUSICAL RECREATION

The surprising success of the great public concerts in Grant Park during successive summers indicates the need for even greater emphasis upon this aspect of public recreation. With more of united promotional emphasis, this impetus could be turned to the encouragement of additional choruses, musical comedies, operettas and other stage productions, craft groups devoted to instrument making, postgraduate high school bands, orchestras, string ensembles and the like. Here again, however, close cooperation between the public schools, the Park District, the Federal Music Projects, if such are revived, and private agencies is essential.

34. ENCOURAGEMENT OF FOLK RECREATION

Because of the rich cultural texture of Chicago life, the recreational program, particularly of the Park District and the schools, could be enhanced by even greater emphasis upon distinctly folk recreational programs. The older European cultures still have a deep hold upon their transplanted representatives. In order to integrate the best of these cultural elements with American life a specialized type of recreational leadership is essential. A stereotyped program of physical activities alone is inadequate for such purposes. Colleges and institutions training for recreation leadership are themselves, like agencies promoting recreational service, in need of coordinating and replanning their curricula in order to integrate the training they give in physical activities with competent and equally practical instruction in the arts of the dance, of music and pageantry, to the end that leadership may be better qualified to develop artistry in performance and presentation of programs of a high standard of artistic merit. Realizing the inadequacies of most present day training in this respect, we recommend that until such time as training institutions meet this requirement more adequately, both private and public agencies give attention to further development of their own supplementary and highly practical in-service training programs, to compensate for the defects of the leadership personnel in this field, as that personnel comes to them from the schools of professional training. More attention should be given by both training and operating agencies to provide a richer fabric of ceremonial in civic life, including greater efforts to make the observance of our own national holidays more

distinctive, and to encourage the celebration of great events and great men of all countries, especially those furnishing considerable elements in our population.

35. COMMUNITY ART CENTERS

Community art centers in line with the loan collections from the Art Institute set up in Garfield Park and elsewhere should be encouraged. The Vanderpoel Art Center in Ridge Park, under the Park District, is an example of such a community art development, as are also some of the projects sponsored by private art associations, etc. They should provide for education in the arts, aid to public school and recreational art services, the inauguration of an avocational program for the community as a whole, for exhibitions and research. It is recommended that this problem be given further study in cooperation with existing art organizations. The Commission further recommends that the collections housed in the Art Institute be made increasingly liquid and available to the public through loan exhibitions in properly administered decentralized agencies, public or private, but notably in parks and public schools.

36. FEDERAL THEATER AND MUSIC PROJECTS

We desire to record our judgment that the Federal Theatre and Music Projects have thoroughly justified themselves in Chicago, and that their achievements indicate that such activities should be encouraged and developed as a definite part of our pattern of relationship between government and the arts. Encouragement of amateur dramatics should be given both as a wholesome avenue for self expression and recreation and as a means of cultivating wider interest in dramatic art.

Wider Participation in Activities

37. RECREATION FOR ADULTS

It is evident from the trend of population that in the near future the recreational needs of adults must be more highly stressed than they have been so far. The Survey shows that out of a population of three million and a half in 1934, sixty-two per cent, or two out of every three, were over twenty-one years of age and that these were almost equally divided between men and women. Within a few years these 2,181,727 people will be well on the way to maturity. If we are becoming a nation of elders, if industry tends to scrap its workers at a comparatively early age, it will be necessary to find avocations for them to make life somewhat more tolerable. Not only libraries and colleges, but also public schools must needs provide more fully for what is more and more called adult education. But this will

not suffice. Various kinds of games suitable to more mature years must be provided for; bowling, croquet, shuffle-board and the like illustrate the point. It has been commonly accepted that mothers' clubs are an essential part of the activities of all recreational agencies. Various nationalistic organizations and churches have also utilized this idea. Some churches and educational institutions, private clubs, etc., have introduced the idea of fathers' and sons' groups. Evidently such organizations as fathers' clubs, mothers' clubs, and mixed adult clubs should be recognized as part of the activities of all recreational and education agencies. Further expansion in the whole field of cultural recreation suited to adult participation is also needed. The great increase in arts and crafts, in music and drama, in literature, gardening and nature study, of the last few years, is fore-runner of still greater development in the future. In agency programs and in leadership training, both in school and in service, we recommend that constant and increasing emphasis be placed on the exploring of these areas of interest, constantly to enrich the recreational life and opportunities of the people.

38. PARTICIPATIVE RECREATION

The danger of inducing in children a mere spectator attitude of passive dependence upon vicarious entertainment is not inherent exclusively in commercial recreation. But since by the very nature of such forms of recreation as movies, radio, and professionalized athletics it is more likely to be associated with them, it behooves public and private recreational agencies to awaken parents, newspapers and the general public to the fact that children need to be led to an interest in alternative participative active and creative sports, games, hobbies, and aesthetic activities as an offset to the passive sponge-like attitude of insisting too largely upon being thrilled and amused by others. Here teachers, play leaders, settlement workers, churches, physicians, editors, librarians, women's clubs, and others should be mobilized to do the job democratically in keeping with wholesome American ideals and traditions.

SECTION D

Financial, Personnel and Regulation

DEVELOPMENT OF FINANCIAL POLICY

SELECTION AND TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Development of Financial Policy

39. FINANCIAL POLICY

Because of widespread difficulties with present methods of financing improvements we recommend that for the next few years at least an experiment be tried whereby the extension and maintenance of certain types of facilities now existing be financed on a pay as you go basis. We recommend enabling legislation if necessary to permit a policy of impounding savings from any annual budgets in a special fund for extensions and new acquisitions. It is recognized and recommended that acquisitions of adequate new park and playground properties would require a bond issue with a referendum. Without condoning tax delinquencies or pronouncing any judgment upon present methods of taxing real property we recommend that the public recreation authorities work in close conjunction with the tax collector's office and the city's legal staff with a view of securing for present and future recreational use desirably located properties which have reverted to the city for non-payment of taxes.

40. POSSIBLE ECONOMIES IN OPERATION

As a partial assistance in increasing the income available distinctly for recreation purposes we call attention to, and endorse the findings of the Citizens Committee appointed (July, 1938) to investigate the operations and expenditures of the Chicago Park District.

> "Operation of city streets is not a proper park function. The pretense that through highways and city streets are park boulevards should be abandoned. Of the 109.7 miles of boulevards outside of the parks and under Park District jurisdiction, 81.95 miles should be transferred to street and highway agencies for maintenance out of the motor vehicle and fuel tax funds. Corresponding reductions should appear in Park District appropriations."

We direct attention, however, to the fact generally recognized by competent authorities that there is a desirable norm for public recreation in metropolitan communities and that Chicago's expenditures for recreation purposes of late years have totalled far less than this figure and have even shown a tendency to decline from, rather than increase toward, this norm. Adequate funds should be provided not only to safeguard against curtailment of services, but to permit of their increase in line with demonstrated public needs. The gradual improvement in personnel will also go a long way in the direction of genuine economy. To this end we recommend upholding the hands of the Park District administration in eliminating the less competent employees, in applying the merit system, and in in-service education for its staff.

Selection and Training of Personnel

41. PERSONNEL IN PUBLIC AGENCIES

In line with the foregoing recommendation it is urged that the quality of recreational personnel in all the public agencies of Chicago be constantly improved. This will be aided by the following measures: namely, the further refinement and universal application of the merit system; a uniform classification of personnel and salary schedules; further provision of opportunities for study and improvement while on the job, to the end that genuine leadership may develop and the dangers of routineer carrying out of prescribed programs may be avoided.

As additional measures, we recommend that the type of examination for park and playground recreation workers place greater emphasis upon the scientific attitude, realistically objective and self critical, upon personal aptitudes as being even more important than training, upon dynamic personality, and upon ability in the field practically to apply and adapt methods and procedures more effectively to socialize the program of activities. It should inquire with increasing insistence not only into a variety of necessary skills and professional training, but also into ability to transfer training into terms of practical and varied applications to life situations in the field. It should still further insist upon evidence of both physical and mental capacity to work under strain, and creatively to adapt both self and program to changing needs.

42. RECREATION LEADERSHIP TRAINING

In the provision of opportunities for improving recreational personnel the local colleges and universities should be brought into contact with the recreational situation in Chicago, their resources should be tapped and their facilities utilized by recreation leaders. It is at this point that the colleges and universities can also assist by making recreation an accepted field for research and by utilizing both public and private agencies as centers for experiment and research. We recommend that various alternative experiments be tried and that no one plan be exploited or publicized to the exclusion of others.

We recommend further that educational institutions engaged in training for recreation leadership improve the quality of their teaching personnel allocated to preparing students for professional service in recreation. Leadership, not only well read, but also experienced and expert in the operational practice of recreation, is as necessary in the training of leaders as it

is in the training of groups. Training institutions should afford additional opportunities to develop practical acquaintance with recreational field practice and methods. In all professional education, bridging the gap between schooling and practice must properly be envisioned as the function of the preparing, rather than of the employing agency, and that can be brought about only when the faculty has first-hand and personal acquaintance of an intimate nature, with actual field conditions and needs.

43. VOLUNTEER TRAINING

In spite of intensive efforts of the past few years, there is a continuing need for volunteers in both the public and the private fields. It is possible that a rather large scale program of recruiting and training volunteer workers may be necessary. To this end a cooperative study of this matter by all the public and private agencies either on their own motion or through the Recreation Commission or the Chicago Council of Social Agencies is desirable.

Commercial Recreation

44. CONTROL OF RADIO AS RECREATION

Commercial recreation seems to have become a permanent feature of the American culture pattern. Recreation planners, however, need not accept it as an accomplished fact unamenable to control and change. It is possible to suggest controls by means of taxation, licensing or competition of public and private recreational activities. It is also possible to state certain desirable ends with a view to improving not only commercial recreation itself but to aiding the entire recreational interest of the city. In so far, for example, as radio is concerned, the Commission recommends encouraging the activities of all agencies working for higher standards of programs and techniques partly for the benefit of the public, partly to protect the industry itself against permanent set-back in public interest. To this end it urges strengthening the hands of a vigorous Federal Communications Commission, which should make sure that no private company, whether broadcaster or advertiser, owns or dominates the air, or puts on programs likely to create intolerance, fears or disorganized child behaviour.

45. CONTROL OF MOVIES

In so far as movies are concerned, it is recommended that the present code of regulation be continued in force; that reviewing agencies such as

women's clubs, Parent Teacher Associations, the Legion of Decency, and theatrical agencies work cooperatively and consistently for improving standards of taste and technique, that gambling devices of every sort be eliminated from appeals for patronage.

46. THEATER AND MUSIC

In the matter of the theater and music it seems unlikely that the present imposition of a federal tax on theaters, opera and concerts does much other than to discourage attendance. It certainly brings in comparatively little revenue and might well be removed, at least during these periods of business depression when so many of these desirable cultural activities are struggling for their lives. The Commission, however, urges upon the operators and managers certain improvements in their manner of dealing with the public if they would secure public support for such a measure or increase their patronage. Incidentally, both public officials and theater operators should cooperate to enforce the present law against "scalping."

Editor's Supplementary Statement

Editor's Supplementary Statement

In neither the fact finding volumes of the Survey nor in these findings and recommendations has there been any design or desire to "play up" or "play down" so-called controversial subjects. At all times true perspective has been the aim. Controversy is an emotional attitude: honest difference of opinion is the privilege of intelligent scholars and citizens. We will all agree that recreation properly directed is sound social therapy. Nor will many deny that wholesome recreation like education has a double function or value: good in itself, good as a diversion of energies and time from less wholesome and constructive amusements. At this point divergence of opinion may appear, namely, on whether it is the business of recreation leaders to judge of relative worth, to set up a scale of values, hence to pay positive attention to what in the Survey have been called "marginal" or "dubious" forms of recreation. This must never be taken to mean that they are unimportant, nor that they are marginal in our thinking or in a statement of public policy; but that they are marginal in the sense of being questionable in terms of a scale of social values. For that reason, although these recommendations content themselves with a general but firm statement of the problems of liquor, gambling, and vice, the editor takes this opportunity of exercising his editorial privilege to state his strong belief that these problems will have to be grappled with by recreation leaders more firmly and decisively than a cursory reading of these recommendations might imply. It would be futile indeed to expect to deal with them by frontal attack, by methods of bludgeoning, forceful repression, legal prohibition in the absence of thoroughgoing educational measures and a rich and discriminating program of alternative more constructive forms of recreation and amusement.

It is the editor's belief, and he takes full responsibility for expressing that belief, but in no way commits the Commission or any of its members to that belief, that a much more detailed statement on the subject of vice, gambling and liquor should be considered as a basis for public and private recreation policy somewhat along the following lines. First, that since the existence of vice may be encountered in any part of the city and is not peculiar or confined wholly to so-called interstitial or disorganized areas, governmental departments, private agencies, settlements, realtors and all others throughout the city should take definite cognizance of this problem, should support suppressive, preventive and regulative activities by the police, health department and state's attorney's office, and should demand that there be definite policies and direction which would make it impossible for commercialized prostitution to long exist. To that end there should

be a rational system of social hygiene instruction in schools, colleges and universities; but more than that it is essential that alternative recreational facilities be provided for all sections of the population. It should not be possible to sustain the claim that vice, organized or unorganized, is necessary to provide adventure, social contacts, intimacy or companionship for "lonely youth" or for the unattached or homeless man or woman of whatever age.

Second, our facts prove that gambling and liquor constitute the most expensive items in our bill for commercial recreation; and it is notorious that they are the most socially recalcitrant. They displace constructive solid values in recreation and in other human satisfactions. They tend to demoralize individuals, homes, family life and government, and they almost inevitably set up a partnership with criminality which defeats the civic purposes of sound recreation. It does not dismiss the issue merely to say that the people want to gamble and since you cannot change human nature, legislation against it is futile and unenforceable. Gambling does not merely represent a recreation wanted by the people as an inherent craving of human nature; it is too often urged and pressed upon them by vicious interests. Hence it is not enough merely to remove overt evidences of gambling and vice from the streets. It should be made possible to protect law enforcement officials in their contacts with these interests. But it becomes increasingly clear that the only real assault upon the gambling nuisance is not by the time-honored way of an occasional use of force, but by stirring up business-men's associations, banks and real estate operators to meet the issue squarely by refusing to harbor gambling activities on their properties.

Therefore I urge abundant provision of more constructive recreation to offset any supposed and inherent necessity for gambling. I should also urge use of public schools, radio, churches, and all other available means of instruction to educate youth clearly to understand that you cannot get something for nothing, that in gambling one inevitably loses. The whole community should make sure that no gambling devices are operated in the guise of advertising whether in schools, in churches, social clubs or fraternal organizations, through radio programs or otherwise, which will tend to develop the practice of gambling.

I believe that the prevalence of gambling is one of the evidences of the widespread unrest and insecurity which seems to grip the people of the world; hence it emphasizes all the more strongly the need for support and extension of all of those positive forms of recreation which provide people with an emotionally satisfied social life, give them the stabilizing

experience of successful achievement, and permit new outlets for their ideas and energies through active creative self-expression. Hence it is not enough merely to remove the overt evidences of gambling which offend. It is necessary to conduct positive attack, as well as negative; to offer substitutes, and not merely eliminate. But we shall get nowhere unless it be understood that the responsibility for this problem rests not merely upon the mayor or the state's attorney or the police, but upon the business men who finance gambling operations, rent property for such purposes and condone gambling as a necessary evil. This does not relieve in the slightest the public authorities from their responsibility for law enforcement; nor should it be construed as condoning laxity because of public apathy or lack of support.

With regard to liquor, the findings are so clear that there can be but one answer. Public recreation, private recreation, the public schools and better forms of commercial recreation are all impoverished through the enormous waste from the liquor traffic. Sooner or later this dubious form of recreation will have to be subordinated or entirely eliminated through processes of rigorous law enforcement, education and legislation, in order to provide for saner living, greater safety on the highways and more rational forms of recreation, I therefore strongly recommend that public authorities be supported in every effort to enforce the present law equally upon all liquor establishments. But, since this is largely negative effort, it must be accompanied and sustained by giving to temperance education vastly greater prominence in the public schools of all grades; and such education should likewise be featured in junior colleges, colleges and universities. Likewise women's clubs, settlements, churches and other quasi-educational agencies should be encouraged to focus their activities along with the educational efforts of the public schools upon this problem. Moreover the various temperance organizations need to unify their purposes, objectives and methods and develop new educational ideas and methods of acquainting the public with the situation as it has been developing within recent years. To this same end insurance companies, the National Safety Council and other similar bodies should be encouraged to cooperate in temperance education as an aspect of safety on streets and highways. Finally I am convinced that churches, schools, colleges and other private agencies as well as public recreational agencies could with considerable prospect of success be urged to experiment with and to develop recreational alternatives to the attractions of the tavern (for example, such experiments as the dry Night Clubs in Milwaukee and Columbus).

In conclusion let me express my appreciation of the fair-mindedness,

tolerance and good will of my fellow members of the Recreation Commission during this long period of working and studying together. I subscribe heartily to the remark by one of them that the extended and earnest consideration of the facts and findings of this Survey has really been a great seminar in recreation, civic welfare, and democratic procedure.

June 28, 1940. ARTHUR J. TODD.

PART II

Summary of Findings

BY ARTHUR J. TODD
EDITOR OF THE CHICAGO RECREATION SURVEY

Summary of Findings

By Arthur J. Todd, Editor of the *Chicago Recreation Survey*

A. GENERAL

For over four years the Chicago Recreation Survey has been steadily plodding toward its goal. Portions of the enormous array of factual materials have already been made available to the public in the four published volumes (I: *Public Recreation*; II: *Commercial Recreation*; III: *Private Recreation*; IV: *Recreation in Chicago Community Areas*). From the very inception of this great project it has been the consistent aim of its staff to set forth the facts with the greatest degree of objectivity humanly possible. Indeed that very objectivity may have struck some readers as cold, colorless and lacking in positive conviction. But that the facts, at least some of them, are quite capable of speaking for themselves is clear from widespread newspaper comment. Discerning editors and many others quite outside the ranks of the recreation expert or technician have been quick to estimate the significance of those facts and to draw pertinent deductions from them. But it was inevitable that the sheer bulk of this material, its almost bewildering variety, and the time lapse between the successive printed volumes should have resulted in over-concentrated summaries, the playing up of certain facts more or less wrested from their context, and snap judgments. Even scientific publications are not immune from people who have axes to grind, political or otherwise, and who are not averse to hitting an opponent over the head with a nicely selected, even though highly authenticated fact.

Hence the time has come to get beyond mere particularist judgments and to seek for an integrated understanding of the completed picture of recreation in Chicago which this Survey has aimed to present. This involves putting the facts in perspective, establishing their interrelations, and drawing conclusions. This means, then, that we must set down some "findings" and perhaps "point them up" for the benefit of those who may find it impossible to assay at first hand this body of materials. But since it has been the pragmatic hope of all the agencies concerned with carrying through this Survey that it should not die a-borning, be relegated to gather dust on library shelves, nor find an honorable place in the antiquarian's hoard, those findings have been translated into definite recommendations for action. The principal task in this final volume of the Survey is to offer an articulated program of recreation planning adapted to the needs of Chicago for a considerable time to come. At this point the social scientist has somehow or other had to assume both the scholar's gown and the engineer's overalls. First, though, came the summary of the findings.

1. The outstanding fact in the social and recreational history of the past three decades is the marked increase in leisure, both voluntary and involuntary. The growing tendency in the direction of a shorter work day or work week has been in process for three-quarters of a century, but it has attained great momentum within recent years. The involuntary leisure occasioned by industrial disturbances, strikes, seasonal lay-offs, technological changes, inability to bridge for youth the gap between school and the job, has taken on a more insistent and dramatic form during these years of business recession.

2. For both these types of leisure a demand has been set up for collective action and the assumption of public responsibility for it.

3. Local communities have been hard hit by the depression and have not been able fully to meet the increased demand for public recreational facilities. They have been aware of the problem but frequently have been compelled to reduce recreational budgets rather than to increase them.

4. Private agencies have been up against the same adverse conditions and in spite of even nation-wide recognition of their indispensable services have not been able to improve their financial position and to extend their facilities as the situation has seemed to require.

5. Certain forms of commercial recreation, notably music, but even such popular forms as baseball, collegiate football, and moving pictures, have suffered severely from shrinkage in consumer buying power.

6. In this emergency the federal government has come to the rescue and through such agencies as the Works Progress Administration and the National Youth Administration has poured out money liberally to aid the sustaining and enlargement of recreational facilities. In one single year, 1936, it spent $300,000,000 in aid of recreation. It is still spending in co-operation with various municipalities for the extension, renovation, and improvement of physical facilities such as parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, theaters, music, and also for the training and assignment of additional personnel to both public and private recreational agencies.

7. Thus the need for additional recreational facilities has been publicly recognized and some attempt has been made to meet the need, but from every part of the country, including Chicago, evidence piles up that the situation has by no means been adequately met.

8. In the history of the last century of the so-called machine age or urban civilization it is to be noted that in the provision for leisure-time recreation commercial agencies grasped the situation and capitalized upon it more quickly and extensively than did either public or private agencies.

Hence the enormous discrepancy between the somewhat meager expenditures for public or private recreational facilities and the huge revenues of commercialized amusements.

9. Another major fact stands out clearly, namely, that there is a profound difference between what people do by way of recreation and what they would like to do. The gap between these two facts is accounted for by lack of income, lack of training, lack of proper facilities, all of which offer a useful hint to all types of recreational and educational agencies, public, private, and commercial, that at least the problem of providing a balanced recreational diet for the American people has not yet been entirely solved.

10. *Trends.* The growing interest in active sports is mirrored in the considerable increase in newspaper space devoted to sports, and particularly to certain types of sports as they emerge into public favor. There is also a tendency towards professionalism, not only in the recognized old time sports like baseball and boxing, but also in wrestling, softball, tennis, ice hockey and even basketball. There is also a tendency for more women to participate in all except the heavier sports like football or wrestling, and to constitute a considerable proportion of the spectators for most major sports.

B. INVESTMENT AND EXPENDITURES

11. It is almost a truism to record that recreation is America's biggest business. The people of the United States spend somewhere between one-fifth and one-seventh of the total national income for some form of play, amusement, or recreation. Between thirty and forty per cent of this total expenditure of approximately $10,000,000,000 per year goes for commercialized recreation. Governmental expenditures equal only five per cent of this total outlay for commercial recreation. In normal years the total funds of all governmental agencies, federal, state, and local, available for recreational purposes have fallen short of $200,000,000 per annum. By contrast, between three and four billions a year may be set down to the account of commercial amusements.

12. It is not possible to disentangle the distinctively commercial items in the pleasure use of automobiles, motorcycles, phonographs, playing cards, toys, games, etc., but it is safe to set down an approximate figure of $2,250,000,000 per year for the more easily identifiable amusements such as moving pictures, legitimate theaters, cabarets, night clubs, radio broadcasting, college football, baseball, boxing and wrestling, golf and liquor.

13. We should not be far out of the way then if we say that roughly two-fifths of the total national expenditure for recreation goes out through commercial channels. Most of the remainder, namely, approximately

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$6,500,000,000, is spent for so-called private forms of recreation. In justification of this statement it may be cited that in 1930 it is estimated we spent approximately four billions on travel in the United States, nearly eight hundred millions on foreign travel, over one and one quarter billions for automobile touring and short trips, over four hundred fifty millions on motor yachts, more than twenty millions on bicycles and motorcycles, twenty millions more on playing cards, seventy-five millions on phonographs and accessories. To make clear these figures the term "private" must be defined. These items of expenditure may be classified as private (or perhaps, better, *domestic*) in the general sense that they are sustained by individuals or families. But in this Survey the word *private* is applied to organized recreational facilities provided by agencies outside the primary face-to-face home group. This follows current practice in social welfare circles and permits comparisons with public and commercial agencies.

14. Within the limits of this definition what are the financial dimensions of private recreation in America? No exact figures are available, nor even any good estimates. The best that can be done is to hazard a rough estimate of an investment of, say, two billion dollars in character-building and leisure-time recreational agencies, exclusive of churches which represent an investment of approximately four billions. Nor again can exact figures be set down for total annual expenditures for these private agencies. Probably they run at present to about $300,000,000 per year. Of this total about one-third may be allotted as the share of social and athletic clubs, two-fifths for lodges and fraternal orders of all types, most of the remainder for youth service agencies.

15. So far as Chicago is concerned, we have found that the investment in public facilities for recreation totals approximately one billion dollars, or almost one-fifth of the face value of all assessable property within the city. Of this total investment the Board of Education school plants and playgrounds account for nearly forty per cent; the Chicago Park District approximately one-third; the Cook County Forest Preserves, roughly speaking five per cent. The various museums, included those supported entirely by public taxation, those partially so maintained, and those located on public property but privately maintained, represent a total investment value of over one hundred sixty-five million dollars.

16. The total investment in agencies for commercial recreation amounts to somewhere between seven hundred million and one billion dollars in the city of Chicago.

17. It is difficult to set down a comparative figure for the investment in private recreational agencies. If the rough estimate for the nation be

applied to Chicago it would be possible to arrive at a tentative figure of $55,000,000. The only positive figures, available from such sources as the Community Trust or the Council of Social Agencies, cover but a partial list of the agencies described in Volume III as offering private recreational opportunities, for they avowedly include mainly so-called character-building agencies. In Chicago these agencies represent an investment of somewhat less than twenty-five million dollars. If church properties are included they would, on the basis of the national estimate, probably run up to one hundred seventy-five millions. But no method exists by which their distinctively recreational plant can be pulled out of the total investment figure and evaluated. Four out of the total twenty-five millions representing the investment worth in private agencies are to be accounted for by the various settlement houses.

18. The annual expenditures for recreation present an even more striking contrast. The total annual cost of all the public tax-supported recreational agencies in Chicago including the whole array of parks, playgrounds, school recreational properties, museums, public libraries, and bathing beaches reaches a figure of only thirty million dollars or scarcely over eight dollars per capita. But it is practically impossible at present to unscramble from total budgets of the Park District the items distinctly attributable to recreation. This is not necessarily a faulty system of accounting (which is understood to be in process of being revamped). Certain block items such as police or transportation or heating or repairs include recreation as well as park and boulevard allocations.

19. If, as we say, the total annual expenditure of the major secular leisure-time recreational agencies runs to three hundred millions per year, and if we allow only fifty cents per capita as the annual expenditure of religious agencies for the recreation of their members, we would still have less than three dollars per capita per year for the country as a whole: this would mean approximately only ten millions per year, or less than three dollars per capita, for all the private recreation agencies in Chicago. It is notable that in spite of vigorous efforts to sustain interest in these private agencies as morale builders, their income has markedly dropped since 1929.

20. By contrast with these figures for both private and public recreational agencies it may be safely stated that Chicago pours out every year for commercial recreation approximately two hundred fifty million dollars, or roughly seventy dollars per capita.

21. The striking fact in this total expenditure is that so-called "marginal" forms of recreation swallowed the lion's share; thus, liquor cost one hundred millions, gambling in various forms approximately seventy-five

millions, commercialized vice thirty millions. The remainder was spent in large measure for radio, movies, and automobiles. Apparently Chicago spends thirty millions per year on radio; for movies, ten millions; for theaters, two millions; for football, six millions; baseball and boxing, one and one-half millions each; billiards, five millions; bowling, three millions; golf, two millions; dancing, two millions; music, six hundred thousand; wrestling, two hundred fifty thousand; hotel floor shows, one hundred thousand; circuses, one million; rental libraries, fifty thousand; tennis, fifty thousand; newspapers, eighteen millions.

22. From these figures it is evident that Chicago spends nine times as much for commercial amusement as for public recreation, nearly twenty-five times as much as for private recreation. For vice Chicago pours out an amount equal to the total annual appropriations for all public recreational agencies. It spends on horse racing and gambling 50 per cent more than the total devoted to maintaining the entire public school system; twice as much as on its instructional costs. It spends on liquor approximately twice as much as it does on public schools, and for these three marginal, dubious and more or less illegal forms of recreation an amount equal to the total cost of all governmental activities of the city of Chicago.

23. The annual bill for liquor and gambling would buy all the churches in Chicago. The annual bill for radio almost exactly equals the total cost of our parks, playgrounds and all the other items in our public recreational system. Movie income alone would pay the whole annual cost of all the private recreational agencies in Chicago. To get a true perspective on Chicago's culture and recreational choices, consider for a moment that its people pay out annually considerably over twenty-five dollars apiece for liquor, but only twenty cents each for opera, symphony concerts and other notable forms of music. The gambling game "policy" alone costs one single section of Chicago's population twice as much as would support all its private recreational agencies, and is illegal to boot.

At a recent conference of religious leaders in Chicago the statement was made that the people of America are contributing at the rate of only two cents a day for religious purposes. If this figure be accepted, it may be useful to set down here certain other figures for comparative purposes; thus, for newspapers one and one-half cents per capita per day; movies approximately one cent; public recreation two and one-third cents; radio two and one-third cents; vice two and one-third cents; schools four cents; gambling six cents; liquor eight cents; all forms of commercial recreation twenty cents.

24. The investment in and expenditures for so-called home play

as a phase of private recreation in Chicago are not covered in this Survey. They are the subject of a study now in process by a graduate student at Northwestern University. At this time it is only possible to say that if Chicago is at all typical of America as a whole the annual expenditure for pleasure automobiles, travel, home games and the other items in this category should approximate two hundred million dollars per year.

C. FACILITIES

25. Apparently experts agree that Chicago stands below the generally accepted standard ratio of park acreage to population. Since 1890 it is true that the ratio of park acreage to city area has increased; in 1900 there was one acre of park to every fifty-two acres of city area, in 1934 there was one acre of park space to every eighteen acres of city area. But during that same period park acreage in relation to population increased only from one acre for every five hundred and eighteen people to one acre for every four hundred and forty-five of the population. It is noteworthy that park acreage, which stood at one acre for every one hundred sixty-two of the population in 1870 and one acre to every two hundred fifty-two of the population in 1880, had declined to one acre for every four hundred forty-five people in 1934. It is equally significant that the increase in park acreage since 1922 has been relatively slow in spite of the actual addition of approximately two thousand acres, for when expressed in terms of ratio to population it appears that in 1920-22 there was one acre of park to every four hundred and eighty-nine of the population while in 1934 there was one acre to every four hundred and forty-five of the population.

26. Some encouragement may be taken from the fact that since 1910 the park area of Chicago has more than doubled, and that the ratio of park acreage to city area has likewise doubled in that same period. The measure of satisfaction is somewhat tempered when these facts are compared with the accepted national standards. Measured by those standards Chicago needs nearly five times as much park acreage as now exists. Recent findings entirely apart from those of this Recreation Survey agree on this conclusion. For example, the report of the Citizens' Committee appointed to investigate the operations and expenditures of the Chicago Park District, presented in July, 1938, concluded that "at the generally accepted ratio of ten park acres per one thousand persons Chicago should have thirty-six thousand acres in parks and playgrounds," and stated further that "the present parks and playgrounds provide only sixteen per cent of the desirable area." Mr. L. H. Weir in his report on recreation facilities and activities of the Chicago Park District submitted to this Citizens' Committee in July, 1938, concluded that the Chicago Park District controls a total of only 18.9 per cent of the total park acreage that good planning would consider

desirable. Moreover, he found that if the acreage included in boulevards and avenues were excluded the acreage controlled by the Chicago Park District would be only about fifteen per cent of the desirable standard for a city like Chicago. Mr. Weir finds that on the facts presented in this Recreation Survey Chicago falls short in school playground area about twenty-three hundred acres. There is also a shortage of perhaps four thousand acres in neighborhood recreation parks or play field parks.

27. There is a wide variation in the park acreage per thousand persons in the Chicago metropolitan area. This is to be expected in a comparison of distinctly urban with distinctly suburban territory. Even so, the contrasts are astounding. For example, Lake Bluff has 32.2 acres of park per thousand population, Highland Park has 29, Glencoe 21, Gary 7.4, Evanston 2.7, Maywood 1.1, and Chicago 1.8.

28. The findings of this Recreation Survey coincide with those of Mr. L. H. Weir and the Citizens' Committee, namely, that even with massing together all the properties controlled by the Chicago Park District, the Bureau of Parks, Recreation and Aviation, the Chicago Board of Education and the Cook County Forest Preserve areas within the city limits, the ratio of park acreage to population is far below the standards set up by good city planning. If we accept the standard of one acre for every hundred inhabitants, then instead of the total of 7,327 acres Chicago should have approximately thirty-six thousand acres in parks and play spaces of various sizes, equipment and location.

29. It is clear from the facts in this Survey that the public recreational facilities in Chicago are not evenly distributed. Apparently there has been no comprehensive recreational strategy nor planning. The Citizens' Committee finds that many thickly populated areas are almost or wholly devoid of parks or playgrounds. They cite as an example the square mile bounded by West Madison Street, Ashland, Western, and Chicago Avenues, having a population of forty thousand but with no park area whatever. A study of the maps, particularly in Volume I of the Survey, reveals that ten local areas are without any park space, namely, areas 26, 38, 48, 54, 56, 57, 62, 64, 65 and 74. Eleven areas are without supervised playgrounds: areas 32, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 64, 65, 70, 73 and 74. One of these areas is the Loop; of the remaining ten only one, namely number 73, has at present a large population, namely 13,366, but it is assumed that they are all growing and need care and forethought. There are areas also without any supervised play program. One-third of all the local areas in Chicago are without fieldhouses: areas 32, 33, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 54, 56, 57, 58, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75.

Nearly one-third of all the areas are without any public facilities for bathing or swimming: areas 2, 9, 11, 12, 18, 32, 36, 45, 48, 50, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 64, 65, 66, 70, 73, 74. Further examples could be multiplied. Mr. Weir's report confirms this conclusion.

30. The facilities of the Public Library operating through its various branches and sub-branches seem to be fairly well distributed; nevertheless nearly half the local areas of the city lack branches, namely, areas 2, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 21, 35, 36, 40, 41, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74. This does not mean necessarily that these areas are without library service; yet analysis of statistics and distribution of library card holders indicates that those areas outside the districts in which the main library, its branches or sub-branches are located do not show a proportionate number of cardholders. This implies that the number of cardholders would seem to vary inversely with the distance from library facilities. It is evident that the Public Library has not been permitted to attain many of its objectives as proclaimed over twenty years ago, notably "to place library service within walking distance of the home of every person in Chicago who wants books, and to eliminate the necessity of one-half of the population traveling an average of ten miles by street car for library service."

31. On account of their very nature it seems almost necessary to centralize to a high degree museums in so far as their buildings and permanent collections are concerned. Thus they tend to be concentrated in the Loop Area of Chicago, but through loan collections, traveling exhibits placed temporarily in public parks and public schools, some decentralization of service and wider distribution of facilities is secured.

32. There seems to be no co-ordination in planning, location of play facilities, programs or personnel between the three major public recreational agencies in Chicago, namely, the Bureau of Parks, Recreation and Aviation, the Chicago Park District and the Chicago Board of Education. Within the Park District itself an excellent approach has been made towards co-ordination through the consolidation of the various park areas which was effected in 1934; but so far no similar co-ordination has taken place between the Park District as a unit and the two other operating agencies. Their programs are diverse, their equipment varies, their methods of recruiting personnel vary, and standards of personnel differ; even their wage scales for presumably similar categories of employment are diverse. Likewise, there seems to be no central planning body, outside of the Chicago Recreation Commission or the Chicago Plan Commission, which at the moment would be in a position to take the lead in effecting some unified

strategy in so far as the city's public recreation facilities are concerned.

33. The findings of this Survey accord with those of other students of the problem to the effect that the principle of civil service, and particularly the merit system, has not fully operated in the selection and maintenance of a personnel capable of giving to the people of Chicago the fullest use of even the substandard provision of park and playground space. Most of the parks and playgrounds themselves seem to be adequately designed, planned and equipped. Federal aid through the Work Projects Administration, National Youth Administration and other agencies has enabled the city to improve its recreational properties and equipment. It has also enabled the city to utilize large increases to its recreational staffs. But from the personnel standpoint, the Chicago Park District has not yet been able to digest satisfactorily the problems bequeathed to it by consolidation.

34. In so far as the distinctly recreational phase of the parks, playgrounds and school play spaces is concerned, apparently one of the most outstanding lacks is the failure to rise beyond a rather narrow concept of physical activities or physical education. In spite of a strong emphasis upon arts and crafts, pageantry, dancing, music and other activities, those attempting to carry forward public recreation in Chicago to new levels of achievement are still compelled to wrestle with personnel badly trained or trained in an older school which was not aware of the social values inherent in what is now generally recognized as so-called "group work", or which did not communicate adequately the techniques of "activities" essential to a rich and varied play program.

35. The failure to effect co-operation or co-ordination between public agencies may be illustrated by the situation with regard to physical education. Some authorities have criticized the recreation administration of the Park District for emphasizing physical education in their programs. Others point out that because the public schools have neglected sound physical education in their programs and have substituted very thin play activities the Park District has had to assume this responsibility even if it thereby had to restrict the distinctly recreational activities for which presumably it exists. In any event there has been no real attempt to reach some common understanding as to a proper division of function.

36. The lack of co-ordination observed as between public recreational facilities is observable also as between private agencies and the public facilities. It is true that churches, nationalistic organizations, industrial and other groups featuring recreation as part of their programs use public facilities wholly or in part. It is likewise true that the Department of Health and Physical Education of the Board of Education and even the

Park District sometimes rents outside facilities (mainly private) for some of their recreational programs. Nevertheless, it would seem that there is no central directing strategy which would correlate public, private and commercial recreation into an integrated pattern for the city as a whole. This does not mean to say that there is obvious duplication of public or private facilities. An intensive study of the maps, particularly in Volume IV of this Survey, should go some distance in answering that question. But if such duplication has not occurred, it has been rather good luck than good strategy, because neither public nor private agencies have given much thought to this element in planning.

37. In general, it would seem, then, that in common with other cities Chicago is notable for achievement rather than for systematic study and planning in so far as concerns its recreational resources and facilities. Undoubtedly planning is the distinctive trend of modern metropolitan communities. So far, however, too much of this planning has been of the engineering type and too little of the sociological type. The park consolidation of 1934 marks a step toward co-ordinated planning in Chicago. The work of the Chicago Plan Commission has been pioneering in that direction. Most American cities, including Chicago, have on the whole been preoccupied with securing facilities and have concerned themselves less with programs and efficient operation. There is today in Chicago, as elsewhere, a definite lag in the provision of programs and in the efficient operation of facilities. With the growing realization on the part of the general public that the provision of facilities is not the full attainment of an ideal in the provision of adequate public recreation but merely the primary step in that direction, and that the use of these facilities depends upon adequate intelligent supervision, has come a gradual change wherein recreation is now viewed as a combination of two equally important components: facilities and program. The degree of effectiveness is dependent upon the extent and type of management provided. Any inventory of public recreation will therefore be concerned with the following major divisions: administration, plant and equipment, and program.

38. The word "planning" is vastly easier to pronounce than it is to define and analyze in detail. Recreation planning involves questions of population, of zoning, of distribution of facilities, of types of facilities, programs of utilization, co-ordination of public, private and commercial agencies including parks, schools, settlements, theaters, bathing beaches and museums. It involves also questions of finance, whether in the form of public taxes or private contributions. It has to do also with controls, censorship, licensing, police regulation. It involves also the subtle and difficult problem of setting up norms and standards.

39. In the light of this analysis it is quite clear that such planning in the city of Chicago has not yet been to any considerable degree attained. One of the prime purposes of this Recreation Survey is to place in the hands of those responsible for such planning authentic facts and figures which will yield to them a picture of the city and hint at least at the need for more comprehensive consideration and planning. Two concrete examples of this need will suffice. Recall that there are three major independent public recreational agencies in Chicago with widely different programs and personnel classifications, salaries and abilities within similar categories. Each struggles to secure its own budget, to recruit its own personnel, to locate its facilities and to work out its programs. For another illustration take the fact that in Chicago new schools are not uniformly planned with proper recreational facilities. For example, the new Wells High School, erected in 1934, and the new Goudy School make no provision whatever for play space. In the case of the Wells High School, which occupies a site of only 2.07 acres, approximately sixty-eight per cent of the site is occupied by the building. This leaves only twenty-nine thousand square feet for sidewalks, lawns and play areas. In addition, the location of the building precludes the possibility of using the unoccupied space for any active games suitable for high-school students. The new Goudy School, replacing a building erected in 1892, spreads over more than sixty per cent of its site, which is only about two-thirds of one acre. Based upon the 1936 attendance at the school, the unoccupied space permits of only 13.38 square feet per pupil as compared with national standards of one hundred square feet of play space per pupil. In this connection may be brought out the enormous variation in the per pupil unoccupied space in Chicago Board of Education school sites. Eight schools offer only from one to ten square feet per pupil of unoccupied space; six of them, including the Parental School, offer over four hundred and fifty square feet. The largest number, namely, two hundred and seventy, out of the total of three hundred and ninety-one public schools in Chicago fall below the national standard of one hundred square feet of unoccupied space per pupil. Only fourteen of the seventy-nine elementary schools erected since 1921 occupy sites exceeding four acres. Indeed only one-tenth of all Chicago school buildings have more than four acres of site. Only one of the high schools exceeds the twenty-acre standard accepted for educational plants of this type. Approximately half the school buildings in Chicago occupy between one-third and two-thirds of the site. Of the sixty-four schools operating playgrounds thirty-four allow less than fifty square feet of playspace per pupil. Eleven have less than twenty-five square feet;

two permit less than ten. Nearly half the schools in 1937 offered less than fifty square feet of unoccupied space (of whatever type) per pupil.

40. The recreational equipment of Chicago public schools is decidedly below accepted standards. Nearly fifty per cent of the buildings still in use were erected before 1900. Even though some of them have been remodeled and enlarged most of them are not well adapted to modern recreational programs and many of them lack recreational facilities of any type whatever. Out of 345 elementary schools only sixty-four are equipped with play apparatus and are supervised during after school hours. Many schools have neither gymnasiums nor assembly halls; some of those remodeled from store or class rooms are substandard. Less than ten per cent of all school buildings have swimming pools, and of these the vast majority are distributed among thirty high schools. Over one-third of the elementary schools lack play rooms, and these are not used for after-school recreation, but serve mainly the regular day curriculum of the smaller children.

D. ATTENDANCE

41. The figures of patronage of commercial recreation or of attendance at the facilities of either public or private agencies cannot be construed as absolutely faithful records of comparative interest in various forms of recreation. People frequently "go to a show" for want of something better to do, to kill time, or because other people press them to do so. Millions of Americans do things just because it is the fashion to do them. Many people go to movies because there are no good legitimate theaters available, or because the price of admission to standard plays is prohibitive. Many people would be glad to use certain facilities of parks and playgrounds if they were available, not merely available in a hypothetical general way, but available in their neighborhoods at convenient hours. This, for example, is notably true of tennis. It would seem to be true also that such group play as basketball is increasing both from the standpoint of participants and spectators at a rate much exceeding the growth in facilities. These facts are important to bear in mind not only when recording bare figures of attendance, but also when it comes to attempting to set up norms for facilities both private and public. Failure to do so must inevitably result in meaningless or even dangerously misleading norms or standards.

42. So far as use of public facilities is concerned it must be admitted at the beginning that in only very few cases can the extent of popular utilization be set down. Since parks and most playgrounds are not enclosed, one would have to patrol the whole horizon in order to get at the number of people entering and departing. Some estimates have been made at

times, and in one or two cases where there was an enclosure to a playground an accurate count has been kept. For example, it is impossible to say how many children use the public school playgrounds. It probably would be safe to say that most of the several hundred thousand public school children in Chicago make some use of whatever playgrounds are available. It is possible to publish with a considerable degree of assurance that in 1936 there were 606,183 public library card holders and 10,378,024 books were in circulation during that same year; but that does not tell how many other thousands or perhaps millions use the newspaper or general reading rooms of the libraries. Figures published in Volume I of the Survey indicate that in 1936 some 50,000,000 people availed themselves of public recreation opportunities in Chicago. Twenty-one million people used public swimming facilities; 886,832 more used the public baths, 675,000 used tennis facilities, over three million attended the summer concerts in Grant Park, fifteen million availed themselves of the Forest Preserves. In general, it may be said that the attendance at playgrounds depends upon the facilities, the programs and the quality of leadership and direction offered by the directors and their staffs. Some play centers may be overflowing, others with poorer equipment and mediocre staffs make a rather pitiful showing by contrast with what might be done. It is probably true also that patronage of public facilities, which has increased during the recent lean years when both commercial and private agencies suffered financial reverses, will continue to increase, provided facilities are kept up to date and the quality of the personnel is improved.

43. In the case of the various museums is it possible to answer rather definitely the question of whether their use is increasing or declining? It might have been expected that paid attendance would decrease during the period of business recession. Thus, paid attendance at the Field Museum dropped nearly sixty per cent in seven years. In 1930 nearly thirteen per cent of all admissions were paid; in 1936 this had dropped to less than six per cent. Of all admissions to the Planetarium until May, 1936, fifty-five per cent were paid; but in 1936 only 16.7 per cent were paid admissions. Apparently during the first few years the Planetarium was such a novelty that many people were willing to pay the small admission charge, but since it has become now a part of the landscape, no longer a novelty, and since people have had to count every penny, paid admissions have dropped. A somewhat similar trend may be observed in the Shedd Aquarium. In 1935 about nine per cent of the admissions were paid, but only six per cent in 1936. The record at the Art Institute has held up somewhat better, since in 1930 about seven per cent of the admissions were paid as compared with 6.3 per cent in 1936.

44. There still is a further question to answer, namely, is the total use of Chicago's museums increasing or decreasing? At the Field Museum attendance declined ten per cent from 1930 to 1936. The Shedd Aquarium is visited by less than half the total recorded in 1930. The Academy of Sciences reports decreasing attendance. The Historical Society shows a contrary tendency. The Museum of Science and Industry, particularly under the new administration, reports increasing admissions. The Chicago Zoological Gardens showed a distinct decline from 1934 to 1936; but it is possible that when the figures for 1938 are released they will show the attractive power of novelties like the "giant panda" when sufficiently publicized. The Art Institute rejoices in an increase of twenty-six per cent since 1930. The Garfield Park Conservatory records a twenty-five per cent decline since 1930. The Trailside Museum reports a fair increase since 1932. At the Lincoln Park Zoo no record is kept because there is no turnstile or single entrance, but the administration guesses that the attendance has been maintained. Since in several cases the decline in patronage hovers somewhere near the figure of paid admissions, the question has been raised as to whether attendance might be stimulated by waiving the admission fee. This would hardly seem to hold for say the Shedd Aquarium; that is apparently a case of novelty wearing off, for fish are just fish unless to an enthusiastic member of the Izaak Walton League, and having once seen an exhibition of fish the public is inclined to check that off its list of things to see and passes on to something new. During the last two or three years circulation in the Chicago Public Library has been on the increase, after five successive years of loss; but it is still only about two-thirds of the high level reached in 1931. The addition of many new books, including one hundred and twenty thousand juvenile volumes, helped to swell the circulation figures. Otherwise, the only trend of definite import revealed by recent circulation figures is an increasing demand for new books on new subjects, especially in the mechanical arts. An increase of interest in adult education is reflected in increased circulation of books related to the various movements for self education and to other educational opportunities provided for adults. Apparently there is increasing use of library facilities for the blind. For example, the circulation of talking books at the Central Library increased from 26,075 in 1935 to 418,809 in 1936.

45. Inevitably the question arises, namely, are public school properties being used to their maximum recreational capacity? The answer must be definitely no, and for multiple reasons. Non-instructional costs have apparently got out of hand and absorb a larger proportion of the

school budget than is normal in other cities. Possibly skilled leadership is lacking. School Board affairs constitute as it were an entirely separate city from Park District operation, library planning, or other aspects of the problem of recreation in the largest sense. In any event a vast equipment lies idle most of the day after regular school hours. In few schools is an attempt made to focus community life in an educational center. Even certain school recreational events are carried on in rented buildings as being more economical than to use school properties. Chicago limps far behind other cities in making schools genuine community centers.

46. *Museums.* The Field Museum is hampered by curtailment of funds and has had to limit its acquisition plans, research, field expeditions, publications and educational service. The Museum of Science and Industry is still in process and because of financial limitations has only just begun to get into stride. Yet already after only four years, and in spite of perhaps less favorable location, its attendance exceeds that of the Academy of Sciences established over fifty years ago, is over half that of the Shedd Aquarium and nearly forty per cent of the total registered at the Field Museum. The Zoological Park has been open only four years and still remains only partially completed. Nevertheless, it attracts between fifteen hundred thousand and two million visitors annually. It proves that, as is the case with the Lincoln Park Zoo, people like a variety of exhibits and are perenially interested in wild life if it is made accessible. The public park conservatories attract well over a million visitors every year. The extension of educational garden services could be facilitated by a closer co-ordinating of this phase of the Park District's work with public and parochial schools. Such a plan is projected but not yet realized.

The Art Institute needs enlarged facilities, but probably even more an arrangement with the public schools and the Park District for installing decentralized revolving collections. An art museum ordinarily shows in its exhibition rooms only a part of its treasures; there is nearly always a surplus available for such local loan exhibits. That such local museums would attract visitors is proved by the nearly fifty-two thousand people who visited the Garfield Park Gallery in 1936. Such decentralization did not subtract from the patronage of the Art Institute, for its total of visitors increased by nearly a quarter of a million that year.

47. *Tennis.* The public recreational authorities in Chicago provide five hundred and fifty tennis courts, but these are by no means evenly distributed. Four parks have only one court, while Jackson Park has thirty-two, Lincoln and Washington thirty each, Marquette twenty-two, Humboldt twenty-six, and Douglas eighteen. Perhaps many more courts might

be provided with a small service charge. It should be remembered, however, that if fees are charged the cost of collection might more than eat up the added revenue.

48. *Navy Pier.* Navy Pier constitutes a very small sector of public recreation activities, notwithstanding its enormous bulk, its cost and possibilities. During spring, fall and winter months there is practically no public use of the pier, except for conventions and exhibits. During the summer, particularly on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays and abnormally hot days, considerable crowds flock to the pier but only a rather sporadic program of recreation is available.

49. *Public Baths.* Public baths still seem to be a necessary element in the recreational and health equipment of Chicago; at least they maintain a steady patronage. With one exception, for over ten years the total attendance has averaged well over eight hundred thousand people, nearly three-quarters of whom paid their way. Nevertheless, the cost of operations exceeded nearly sixfold the total receipts.

50. *Armories.* A vast amount of space, and in many cases excellent recreational facilities are not wholly available to other recreational agencies or even to public bodies like the Park District, and this notwithstanding the fact that in at least one case the Armory was actually permitted to build on Park property. Only two out of ten grant free use of their space, five more rent their facilities, the remaining five restrict use to the military organizations which they house. Most of them are under control of the state of Illinois; some enabling legislation would probably be necessary to secure wider use of these enormous plants.

51. It is almost out of the question to give any worth while figures of the attendance at private recreational agencies. Club memberships do not tell the tale. No satisfactory unit of recording attendance, for example at settlement houses, has been agreed upon. It is possible to count the number of people who come in the front door of a settlement house or who are given a certain type of service; but it is not possible to equate such figures as, for example, the attendance at lectures, moving picture shows or amateur dramatics. Perhaps the best that can be said is that private agencies providing recreational facilities are rather uniformly well patronized. It has been observed, for example, that in a district where there is a good settlement group work program it will attract youth who would not be attracted by the slim recreational fare provided, say, at the neighborhood field house or playground; and the contrary might equally prove true. Since the membership in lodges and luncheon clubs seems to have reached practically the saturation point, no figures of significance

concerning them need be noted. But it is important to record an apparent increase in church membership since that fact has a bearing upon the recreational uses of church property. With the shutting off of immigration the significance of nationalistic organizations tends to diminish. Membership in the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts is on the increase.

52. The national figures of patronage for various forms of commercial recreation stand out in striking contrast to the figures for either private recreational agencies or for some phases of public recreation. We have estimated that a billion and a half people per year attend moving pictures. The paid admissions to various sporting events in 1935 were divided as follows:

Sport	*Attendance*
Basketball	80,000,000
Baseball	50,000,000
Football	40,000,000
Boxing	25,000,000
Horse racing	22,000,000
Wrestling	7,500,000
Hockey	6,000,000
Softball	5,000,000
Dog racing	5,000,000
Bicycle racing	4,000,000
Motorcycling	3,250,000
Track and field	2,500,000
Swimming	1,200,000
Ice skating	1,000,000
Tennis	650,000
Golf	200,000
Miscellaneous	3,000,000
Total	256,300,000

The National Billiard Association of America estimates that there are eight million billiard players. Probably an equal number bowl regularly. Table tennis and trap shooting enthusiasts probably number five million each. The United States Lawn Tennis Association estimates a total of from three to four million tennis players.

53. In Chicago moving picture theaters attract more than twenty million patrons annually. In 1937 about 1,500,000 theater-goers attended so-called legitimate theatrical productions in Chicago. An additional total of 212,500 Chicago theater-goers paid admissions to various attractions

provided by the Federal Theater in 1937. During that same year the total attendance at all Orchestra Hall concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra approximated 205,000. In addition to this, 195,000 listened to the programs of the Illinois Symphony Orchestra. The Chicagoland Music Festival, inaugurated in 1930 under the auspices of the *Chicago Tribune* Charities, Incorporated, attracts an annual attendance of between eighty and one hundred thousand. It is estimated that including all who bowl either occasionally or habitually the number of Chicagoans who follow this sport approximates 500,000. In 1937, 950,000 spectators followed the National League baseball games, and another 595,000 the American League games. There are now more than twenty-five hundred regularly established softball teams in the city of Chicago.

E. COSTS

54. It has already been pointed out that park and playground acreage in Chicago increased from 5,523 acres in 1920 to 7,327 acres in 1934, that is, roughly one-third. During the same period, however, the annual tax rate imposed for parks far outran this increase. Out of each one hundred dollars of taxes the share of the parks increased from $7.50 in 1920 to $13.67 in 1933, then dropped after consolidation to $11.28 in 1935. Since 1927 from a peak of over $206,000,000, tax levies in Chicago decreased to a little less than $180,000,000 in 1935, yet the proportion of tax levy to assessed valuation increased.

Chicago's unhappy tax situation has been sufficiently broadcast to the world; it is not necessary to add insult to injury here. It is appropriate, however, to raise a question as to whether Chicago's park and playground system is unduly expensive, and if so wherein lies the trouble. The report of the Citizens' Committee cautiously concludes that "after all adjustments for local conditions, the Chicago per acre and per capita park costs appear to be substantially greater than those recorded for other cities." While Major Welsh's study indicates that this is not "due to excessive per acre man power used in planting and cultivation, and while the intensive use given our parks undoubtedly explains much of the apparent disparity, it is evident that emphasis must be given to economies." The Citizens' Committee further explains that this intensive use of park property involves amongst other things the maintenance of ninety-two field houses and the organized recreation programs centering about them. It is evident also not only from these reports but also from budgetary hearings within the last year that the maintenance of boulevards, lighting and park police run up the paper costs at least of Chicago's park and recreation system. It is clear that since the consolidation in 1934 there has been a considerable re-

duction in expenditures by the Chicago Park District, together with a very substantial reduction, approximately twenty per cent, in the total debts of the park system. It is no secret that the park system, including the Division of Recreation, is still loaded up with a certain proportion of more or less incompetent personnel inherited from the individual parks at the time of consolidation.

55. On the other hand investigators, such as Mr. L. H. Weir, are under the impression that from the standpoint of staff Chicago's public recreation system is undermanned and perhaps underpaid. Certainly there has been a slight increase from the 14.2 per cent of total appropriations by the Park District allocated to the Recreation Division and the 15.9 per cent which it received in 1937. Weir proposes increases of personnel amounting to $2,295,717 for wages and salaries, plus $216,053 for miscellaneous administration service and operation expenses. In other words, he would hold that in order to measure up properly to nationally established recreation standards Chicago should appropriate 76 per cent more than in 1935, 74 per cent more than in 1936 and 83 per cent more than in 1937 for its recreation services. He recommends, in spite of adverse prospects for such an increase, a budget for Park District corporate purposes of somewhere between ten and twelve million dollars and the allocation of between twenty and twenty-five per cent of this total to the Recreation Division. But such a recommendation seems to apply to a rather hypothetical or ideal situation than to the very realistic problem presented to the Recreation Commission. The facts gathered from this Survey seem to point to a certain meagerness of support for the distinctly recreational features of the Park Board's activities. But they also hint very strongly that the total moneys available to all the public agencies in Chicago might be spent to much greater advantage, given proper coordination of facilities, better planning, and more effective personnel.

F. RECREATION STANDARDS OR NORMS

56. It is not possible at this moment to set down as definitely and scientifically proved norms or standards for faciilties and utilization in different forms of recreation. It is commonly accepted that the desirable ratio of park and playground space to population and city area is one acre for each hundred persons, although some planning engineers deem the standard impracticable and would set it at about ten per cent of the total city area. Certain authorities recommend ten acres of park per thousand inhabitants, of which three acres should be devoted to playground purposes, including school playgrounds. One-third to two-fifths of park and playground space should be reserved for playfields, playgrounds and school play yards, the

remainder being devoted to parks. Such a standard would approximate one net park acre to each of two hundred residents. Within built up areas one net park acre might be accepted as a fair standard. In Volume I of this Survey we accepted the general principles agreed upon by the *Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs,* but held that they could not be laid down Procrustes fashion on any community, but could only be used to give a rough measure by which to judge a city's provision of recreational space. It will be worth while to restate those principles.

> "Children's Playgrounds—one hundred square feet for each child playing in the playground at a given time, or twenty-five square feet for each child five to fifteen years of age within a radius of approximately one-fourth mile.
>
> "Athletic Fields and Playfields—one thousand square feet for each player on the field at a given time, or fifty square feet for every person of twelve to twenty-four years of age in borough or city.
>
> "Neighborhood or Local Parks—two hundred and seventy-five square feet for each person using a neighborhood park at a given time, or from three thousand to five thousand inhabitants per acre of park.
>
> "Bathing Facilities—one hundred and fifty square feet at high tide per person using the beach at a given time, or about one linear foot of shore line per person. Thus one mile of beach would serve about five thousand persons comfortably at one time.
>
> "Leaving out of account the water frontage needed for bathing, but including any upland areas attached to the beaches as waterfront neighborhood parks, it may be approximately estimated that one acre of open space is needed for *active recreation* to every one thousand persons in the general population, or about two hundred and thirty-eight families.
>
> * * *
>
> "It is reasonable to assume that twice this area is needed for all purposes—i.e., one acre to each five hundred persons as a minimum for combined city parks, neighborhood parks, athletic fields, waterfront parks, and playground. A desirable minimum, however, would be one acre to each three hundred persons likely to be residents in a district, and an absolute minimum of one acre to each five hundred. Any percentage between these two figures might be reasonable, having regard to local conditions, and to proximity of country parks which are not included in the calculation. In areas only partially developed the percentage should apply to the potential, and not to the present, population, and in all cases the figures now being used should relate to open spaces within walking or short driving distance of residential neighborhoods.
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> "In undeveloped or partially developed areas which are likely to be subdivided for building purposes, the calculation of the amount of

public open space required should be made, in the first instance, on a different basis than that of persons per acre—namely, that of percentage of open space to gross area. In such areas not less than ten per cent of the gross acreage, that is, all land including the part devoted to streets, should be reserved for open space in advance of building development.

* * *

"Given adequate zoning control over density so as to prevent overcrowded conditions on any parcel of building land, it should be unnecessary for any district to reserve more open space for all local park purposes than ten per cent of its total area. Parts of a country park system through a district might be included in this proportion if it is available for every day local use, but every local community or subdivision should provide a minimum of five per cent for active recreation alone and an equal area for pleasure parks. The proper division of one hundred acres would be sixty acres as building area, inclusive of appropriate private space in courts and yards, and forty acres in streets and open spaces, providing in the latter for a variation in the division of the two uses so as to secure from ten per cent to fifteen per cent for all local recreation purposes and neighborhood parks."

57. For individual facilities the National Recreation Association suggests a tentative standard, for example, of one baseball diamond for every six thousand of the population, one tennis court to every two thousand of the population. Weir suggests approximately five per cent of total park acreage, exclusive of boulevards, as a not unreasonable allotment of space for golf (contrary to the National Recreation recommendation of twenty per cent); he also accepts a standard of one and one-tenth square feet per person for adequate gymnasium space in any given city.

58. These standards are admittedly highly tentative. Measured by them, however, Chicago apparently has scarcely more than one-fifth the park and playground acreage it should have. Likewise, it would seem to have only about one-tenth the baseball diamonds needed, since at present scarcely more than four-tenths of one per cent can be accommodated on the forty public diamonds. Similarly, according to these standards Chicago has scarcely one-third the tennis courts that might be expected for its population. Again, there would seem to be a shortage of more than five hundred gymnasiums or other facilities for playing such games as basketball, badminton, handball and volleyball.

G. RECREATION AGENCIES AS EMPLOYERS

59. One of the peculiarities about spectator types of recreation is the small number of people required to amuse vast audiences. Two negro comedians or a pair of Hollywood "jokesmiths" can amuse millions of radio listeners; twenty-two men on a football field can arouse one hundred

thousand fans to enthusiastic heights; the same may be said of baseball, wrestling, boxing and many other commercialized forms of recreation. But even for the so-called "participative" type of sports or games the amount of employed labor which is required to provide the necessary facilities seems out of proportion to the number of people served. In other words, although recreation would seem to be America's biggest business, it is in no sense to the same degree America's biggest employer of labor; indeed, the reverse is true and recreation is rather notoriously a small employer of labor in proportion to its revenues.

It is not possible to give the exact number of employees in the public recreational system of Chicago. The budgets list certain classifications of employees with their number and their salaries, but they also provide for items like man hours or man days without any designated number of people; they also contain miscellaneous unenumerated categories of laborers, painters, attendants, etc. The Bureau of Recreation of the Board of Education apparently employs a total of two hundred and thirty-one, the Park District three thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, the Bureau of Parks, Recreation and Aviation one hundred and eighty-four plus a lot of extra help not enumerated. The Forest Preserves seem to carry eighty-one on the recreational payroll. The Chicago Public Library lists nine hundred and twenty-three. While it is thus impossible to ascertain the exact total of the employed personnel in Chicago public recreation agencies, the grand total runs probably somewhat over six thousand.

60. For the commercial recreational agencies in Chicago no local figures are available. The only possible light to be secured is from the Federal Census of Business, which itself covers only perhaps a half of the known places of amusement. If the figures from these places of amusement are accurate and typical of the total, it might be possible to say that, for Chicago, motion pictures provide employment for more than two-thirds of the total employees in commercial amusements, and pay seventy per cent of the total payroll, although they average only seven and seven-tenths employees per establishment. Billiard and bowling establishments employ approximately eighteen per cent of the total working force and pay roughly ten per cent of the wage bill. Legitimate theaters employ about two and two-tenths per cent of the total and pay four and four-tenths per cent of the wages. Dance halls, studios and academies employ eight per cent of the workers and pay four and three-tenths per cent of the total payroll. Bands and orchestras employ two per cent of the total but pay only slightly over one per cent of the total wage bill. Baseball and football clubs and related enterprises employ approximately 1.3 per cent of the total

number of workers and pay 1.7 per cent of the total wage bill. None of the other types of amusement include so much as one per cent of the total employed force. Recall that recreation is America's biggest business and that commercial recreation accounts for perhaps two-fifths of the total annual cost of recreation, that is, roughly speaking, somewhere around three or four billion dollars. Place beside that figure the simple fact that probably commercialized recreation employs less than two hundred thousand persons out of a total of forty-eight millions; that is, only four per cent of the total employed workers in the United States are required to extract between three and four billion dollars from the pockets of American people.

It is noteworthy also that in certain types of amusement and recreation employment is very irregular. While ninety per cent of legitimate theaters and eighty-nine per cent of motion picture employees are classed by the Census as full time, only two-thirds of billiard and bowling employees are so rated. Less than half of the dance employees are full time. This is equally true of band and orchestra players, employees of baseball and football clubs, etc. Perhaps it should be stated also that amusement is still predominantly a masculine employment, for only a bare one-fifth of all its employees are women.

H. RECREATION AND DELINQUENCY

61. *Need for Skilled Leadership.* It almost goes without saying that it is a naive belief that merely to clear a vacant lot and install certain play facilities, or even that to open a playground properly equipped will of itself wipe out delinquency and improve the child life of that community. Space or facilities without something in the way of constructive guidance and leadership may constitute an area where unwholesome contacts are made and therefore become breeding grounds for delinquency. If community responsibility can be evoked or if the neighborhood has not become sodden in apathy or hostility, and if the play space is designed for simple group play like softball or baseball then no such danger is likely to arise. Indeed under such circumstances the injection of professional play leadership might be not only a waste of money but a possible hindrance to community development. Nevertheless, too much emphasis can scarcely be placed upon the need for first class playground and recreational personnel. It is entirely possible that with properly trained personnel less emphasis would be placed upon the merely competitive motive in promoting public recreational programs. Experiments have been made which show clearly that badges, cups, money prizes and other paraphernalia of competitive sport are not needed to get genuine whole hearted interest and participation in games and sports, even on a large scale. It may not be amiss to question how far

recreation staffs in Chicago measure up to the ideals set forth at the Twenty-third National Recreation Congress (1938). One leader declared:

> "The successful recreation leader requires a wider range of knowledge in the entire field of human activity than any other professional leader. He must know all about sports and games, dramatics, dancing, music, nature activity, camping, arts and crafts, hobbies, civic forums, because these are all potential elements in the leisure time life of his community. The recreation leader must know how to promote and organize all of these human activities in such a way that everything runs smoothly and with full enjoyment of all participating, but he must do more than this. He must understand how to manage this vast program of activity so that he effectively promotes the health, character development and the progressively expanded self-expression of the people of his community."

Another echoed:

> "Above all things the recreation leader must be a super-cooperator. He cannot and should not attempt to organize under his own direction the entire lesiure time life of his community. Every church and school, every organization—yes, every home—is and should be in part a center of recreation activity. The recreation leader, through the programs which he personally manages, through his personal counsel and assistance, through his training of volunteers, through public address and printed work, should be an influence strengthening the recreational activity in all these public and private organizations over which he has and should have no control."

62. *Adverse Effects of Certain Forms of Commercial Recreation.* A good many authorities agree that certain forms of commercial recreation, particularly radio and movies, because of their wide appeal have a deleterious effect in producing certain unwholesome attitudes on the part of youth. Many of the programs which go out from certain radio stations have been the subject of vigorous attack because of the physiological, mental and moral disorders which they produce. As pointed out in Volume II, certain types of moving pictures have been proved to produce or induce certain forms of delinquency. For example, false standards of living, false ideals, deliberate incitement to crime or to sexual misbehaviour have been traced to them. Two sociologists in their report on *Movies, Delinquency and Crime* state their positive opinion that:

> ". . . the motion pictures were a factor of importance in the delinquent or criminal careers of about ten per cent of the male and twenty-five per cent of the female offenders studied. . . . Several important indirect influences disposing or leading persons to delinquency or crime are discernible in the experiences of male offenders. Through the display of crime techniques and criminal patterns of behavior; by arousing desires for easy money and luxury, and by suggesting ques-

tionable methods for their achievement; by inducing a spirit of bravado, toughness, and adventurousness; by arousing intense sexual desires; by invoking daydreaming of criminal roles, motion pictures may create attitudes and furnish techniques conducive, quite unwittingly, to delinquent or criminal behavior. One may detect in the case of delinquent girls and young women influences similar to those spoken of in the case of young men."[1]

63. There is unquestionably a considerable area of commercial so-called recreation which aids and abets in the production of adult delinquency. For example, billiard halls and bowling alleys to a certain degree in their earlier history were recognized centers or "hangouts" for anti-social elements in the community. Their reputation still survives, and not entirely without reason. In spite of the fact that most of these establishments now are "respectable" and in spite of the fact too that these activities are actively sponsored by some of the churches, it is still a fact that certain dance halls, burlesque shows, and in general taverns and centers of commercialized prostitution are delinquency breeders. To say the least, all of these commercial agencies prey upon the weaknesses in human nature and can in no sense be said to strengthen or build up or reinforce the better tendencies in human nature. There is no doubt, moreover, that through commercialized vice, the tavern and gambling enormous resources are wasted or worse than wasted, which otherwise would be available for education and more instructive types of recreation.

64. As pointed out in Volume II, "red lights burn brightest in deteriorated and neglected neighborhoods." It is well known that most vice resorts operate in social swamps, in those areas showing the highest indices of social disorganization. In Chicago commercialized vice is concentrated and thrives in certain specific areas adversely known to health and social welfare workers. These plague spots correlate more or less closely with centers of dance halls, taverns and the like; but they also stand out in close correlation with facts of congested housing, juvenile delinquency, underemployment and social insecurity.

I. SPECIFIC FORMS OF COMMERCIALIZED RECREATION

65. *Movies.* Probably every human being on this planet could be accommodated by American movie theaters every year. In Chicago more than twenty million patrons attend movies every year. One out of every three of these patrons is under eighteen. If it is true, as the figures seem to indicate, that Americans spend twenty-three hundred years every day in moving picture theaters, Chicagoans spend over sixty years every day in the movies. This picture can be put even more clearly. If an American born

[1]Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 198-9.

in the time of Plato had sat continuously every moment of his life from that time to the present, he would have done vicariously what the people of the United States do every day. If a Chicago patron born during President Grant's administration had likewise sat continuously in a Chicago movie theater, he would just have equalled what the people of this city do in the mass every day.

66. Chicago movie theaters provide one seat for every nine residents of the city. During the past eleven years the seating capacity of Chicago movie theaters has remained about the same, although the actual number of theaters has declined. The highest concentration of seating capacity is, as might be expected, in the Loop area, with areas 1, 3, 6, 22, 24, 28, 25, 68 and 42 next highest. More than one-fourth of all of the community areas are without any moving picture theaters. In terms of the ratio of the number of persons to motion picture seating capacity, the Loop area has one seat for every one-tenth of a person. Twenty areas have one seat for every one to nine people. The majority of areas, namely, about one-third of the total, fall into the median group, having one seat for every ten to nineteen people. The distribution maps of the city show that on the whole moving picture theater accommodations are very well distributed through the city.

67. Apparently it is true, whether this is an unfortunate fact or not, that in most communities the moving picture theater has practically displaced the so-called legitimate theater, although the legitimate theater still is of great service to the movie from the standpoint of preserving dramatic forms, trying out plays, and training actors.

68. Because of the very popularity of the movie itself, because of the large investment, because of the very direct appeal which the screen makes to its audience, it was inevitable that regulation and control both through licensing and by police censorship should be set up. The code of standards or rules set up and followed by the Chicago Police Department seems adequate enough, and seems to be ordinarily fairly administered.

69. There is nothing especially new developed in the facts or findings of this Survey with regard to moving pictures. The effects of crime and sex films have been almost universally recognized; the adverse effects of double features have been given attention and are by no means fully acceptable as a sound recreational policy. It would appear that in general the standards of moving pictures are rising both from the standpoint of subject material and techniques. There are still unwise attempts at times to stimulate attendance by resorting to devices which are not far short of, if not entirely, forms of gambling. The chief objection apparently is, to paraphrase Marx, that youth are being drugged into a more or less apathetic

and dependent attitude. It is not, as Marx thought, religion which threatens to be the narcotic of our people, particularly of our youth, but rather the moving picture and perhaps even the radio.

70. *Radio.* Radio in Chicago on the whole seems no better and no worse than elsewhere. So far as the attitude of mind of either the Chicago public, the broadcasting agencies, and the commercial interests using radio is concerned, it may be assumed that they represent fairly well the principles laid down in a recent bulletin on *Education by Radio,* published by the National Committee on Education by Radio:

> "We shall have to assume, first, that the 'American system'—the commercial principle plus the leadership of chain broadcasting—will be maintained. . . .
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> ". . . . ordinary radio entertainment . . . is not likely to change fundamentally in the present or next generation. They will continue to fluctuate in accordance with popular fashion, which is actuated by a desire for change and variety rather than a craving for something better or worse. It is certain, of course, that the pressure of competition will tend to constantly improve these programs in a technical sense: they will become even more brilliant, more snappy, more catchy, more thrilling, or what have you, but they will neither add nor detract from the sum total of our culture, our esthetic taste, or our intelligence. They will continue to sell goods, and, insofar as they will make our dollars circulate faster, they will be helping to keep us alive.
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> "Now we know that the broadcasting companies, as distinct from the radio advertisers, spend a great deal of money and effort in catering to the comparatively few people who want highclass music, highclass drama, highclass talks—in short, 'culture.' They do this for several reasons. Firstly, for the sake of 'prestige.' Since the possession of wavelengths is not an inalienable right, but a franchise depending upon the quality of its stewardship, the companies are naturally anxious to justify their policies, not only with the uncritical majority but the critical and possibly influential minority. Secondly, because the minority which wants culture, tho a minority, is a minority of millions in a country the size of America, and it comprises a proportionately larger portion of the country's buying power than the majority. And thirdly, because the minority is bound to grow and the demand for culturally highclass programs to increase.
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> ". . . . the good music-loving public is growing at greater speed than the population as a whole, and . . . radio—as many other media—is helping in the process. . . .
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> "In looking toward the future we may be confident that under the American system the amount of good music, as well as the amount

of highgrade programs in general, is bound to increase. The companies are going to continue to stand in need of 'prestige'; the demand for culture from the cultured minority is more and more sure to assert itself; and finally the number of lovers of good music is going to grow at a disproportionate rate. Finally, we should of course not forget that there are people within the broadcasting organizations who have the will and the desire to see good music take an ever greater share of the program time, people who love good music for its own sake and believe in its civilizing mission; tho their personal desires, however helpful, are not the decisive factor in a system based on business principles."

71. It is possible then to conclude that from the listener's standpoint of accepting radio as a preferred form of commercial recreation, Chicago runs fairly true to type among American metropolitan areas in so far as concerns expenditures, equipment, interest, number of listeners, etc. Chicagoans spend approximately eight dollars per capita annually for this type of amusement. Yet from the standpoint of providing centers for the satisfying of public interest in radio, Chicago falls below the national average. Chicago, with three per cent of the total population, has only two per cent of all the radio stations in the United States; that is, with only fourteen out of seven hundred broadcasting stations, it numbers only one station to every two hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants as compared with the national average of one to every one hundred and eighty thousand population. It is a commonly accepted observation that few continuous outstanding radio features or programs originate here. Various explanations of this fact have received wide currency. It is impossible with the facts so far in hand to answer dogmatically the controversial question as to whether Chicago is held back from ascendency in the radio field because New York is the nation's financial and theatrical center, or because it sucks away genius from every other great city, or because of habit and tradition, or because of high powered advertising or because the activities of musicians in Chicago are more restricted by trade union regulations than are imposed in other centers. The fact still remains that Chicago is conspicuous as a consumer rather than as a producer of radio satisfactions.

72. One typical but none the less tragic consequence of the present commercialized control of radio must be recorded, namely, that not a single station in this great city of thirty-six hundred thousand people carries the New York Philharmonic Concert programs after the baseball season gets under way. For example, during 1938 the concerts of April 17 or April 24 were unavailable to the thousands of music lovers in the Chicago area. The only explanation available from radio proprietors themselves is that advertisers buying Sunday afternoon time at that particular hour are all

sheep-minded and insist that their time be given to baseball instead of to music.

73. *Theater.* Chicago reflects the general decline in the legitimate theater which has been going on, particularly since the advent of the moving picture. It is possible to record a temporary revival of prosperity in Chicago during the past two years. The activities of the federal government through the Works Progress Administration theater projects provided a broad program of good plays at prices within the range of large sections of the population. In 1937 it is estimated that one and a half million theatergoers attended the commercial theatrical productions, but during that same year nearly one-quarter of a million other people paid admissions to the various Federal Theater productions. Apparently there was no competition between the government aided and the commercialized theater. Officials of the Federal Theater sensed an increasingly popular sentiment on the part of the general public, because the number of regular patrons increased. This they attributed to the constant improvement of the theater personnel and to the staging of many plays which have never before had a professional showing in Chicago. The Federal Theater would seem to have worked no hardship upon private enterprise, but on the other hand to have made distinct contributions to both the welfare of the actors concerned and to the recreational opportunities of the city.

74. Various sections of the Survey have brought to light the vigorous life and activity of the Little Theater in Chicago. Hundreds of professional and amateur actors have found through the Little Theater a channel for interesting activity and have provided a very useful supplement to other dramatic activities for thousands of youth and adults in the city.

75. *Music.* Chicago is one of the world's music centers, whether considered from the standpoint of the production of musical instruments, institutions for musical education, or music organizations and their appearances before the public. Somewhere between ten and twenty per cent of the total expenditures for commercialized musical entertainments go for opera and concerts, but exact financial or attendance figures are lacking. Nevertheless, certain general trends for the country as a whole would seem to hold for Chicago. We know that the recent financial depression worked havoc in the musical world by throwing thousands of professional musicians out of employment, depleting income for opera and symphony associations, restricting the manufacture and sale of musical instruments. It is a well known fact also that the radio and the movie have worked both benefit and hardship upon local musical enterprises. The modest revival of business prosperity brought some measure of upturn to music, also. In Chicago, as

elsewhere, there is apparently an increasing volume of musical interest. This is not registered so clearly in the patronage of recognized musical organizations and concert artists as it is in the field of public school music. However the case may be in Chicago, in other parts of the country music is no longer considered as a frill or a fad in the public schools. Probably the radio has had a good deal to do with the cumulative spread of interest in music amongst American youth. In the public parks and playgrounds, settlements, nationalistic organizations and other private agencies, a varied program of musical activities goes on year after year, but both opera and symphony in Chicago continue usually to struggle under heavy deficits. For example, the Chicago Orchestral Association during the season 1937-1938 shows total receipts from its concerts of $256,382.41, but this fell short of its expenses by nearly one hundred thousand dollars. Apparently the Symphony Orchestra maintains its customary high level of artistic performances; nevertheless, attendance has slumped. While ten years ago the full capacity of Orchestra Hall was frequently taxed, in 1937 the largest audience barely filled two-thirds of the auditorium. Two other notable symphonic organizations in Chicago, the Women's Symphony Orchestra and the Businessmen's Orchestra, occupy a position midway between full fledged professional music and music as a hobby. They seem to record a continuous interest and play a considerable role in Chicago's musical activities. But the Federal Music Project is an even more significant factor in the music picture of Chicago. For the two year period 1935-1937 the Illinois Symphony Orchestra, which represents the main part of this federal project, gave a total of one hundred and twenty-five performances with a total attendance of nearly two hundred thousand people. The American Concert Orchestra, also part of the Federal Music Project, began giving concerts in 1936. During the next fifteen months it gave one hundred and seventy-one performances in concert halls, settlement houses and schools, to a total attendance of approximately 170,000 people. This experiment offers an outstanding example of a working arrangement between public and private recreational facilities.

76. *Billiards.* The number of billiard halls in Chicago reached its peak of 2,244 in 1920. There had been a notable increase amounting to nearly one-third in the two years after the prohibition amendment went into effect. This sudden spurt of prosperity and interest was reversed immediately thereafter, probably because many former saloon proprietors had set up billiard parlors but were unable to survive the keen competition. Also, conditions in the pool rooms themselves resulted in more stringent regulations which tended to eliminate the marginal establishments. Within the

past ten years there has been a still further decline, so that at present there are less than six hundred locations instead of the eleven hundred and twelve reported in 1926. The majority of these seem to be fairly well established, and the tendency seems to be in the direction of larger places. Approximately fifteen per cent of pool rooms are also licensed for bowling, and over half of these are also licensed retail liquor establishments. More than half of the total number of billiard tables in Chicago are located in ten of the seventy-five community areas. The Loop area with three hundred and twenty-six tables shows the highest concentration, but two districts on the near West Side and near Northwest Side include more than a quarter of the total. The concentration in business and commercial districts is accounted for at least in part by zoning and licensing ordinances which keep them out of purely residential districts. Thus ten of the community areas had no licensed billiard halls in 1936, while Madison, State, Clark and Halsted Streets are credited with the addresses of eighty-nine, that is, approximately sixteen per cent of the total in the city. The prejudice against billiards still lingers to a certain extent, because of the association of pool rooms with saloons. Nearly ten per cent still maintain this partnership. While ostensibly the Billiard Commission, set up in 1922, was designed to eliminate some of the evils, such as gambling, connected with pool rooms, it has recently been abolished and its work transferred to the Council Committee on Recreation and Aviation.

77. *Bowling.* Bowling in Chicago is an increasing recreational interest. This is due partly to the improved location of bowling alleys, to improved equipment and to their separation from the saloon. It would seem very likely that the influence of women is a telling factor in this improvement, for in the country as a whole women constitute one million out of the eleven million bowlers reported; they also constitute a very considerable fraction in the half million in Chicago. Another significant trend is the campaign of bowling supply manufacturers to promote an interest in this sport among high school youth. The growth of bowling in Chicago has been more or less spasmodic. From 1910 until the end of the World War there had been a gradual but notable decrease in the number of bowling alleys, but from 1919 to 1930 they showed a steady increase. While many individual smaller establishments were forced out, their places were taken by larger and more modern locations. Owing to the business depression the six years after 1930 showed a steady decline in the number of locations and the total number of alleys. On the other hand, the upturn in business conditions in 1936 was reflected by an increased number of establishments and the total number of alleys in the city. Because of the con-

siderable investment required, bowling alleys are usually located in the major business districts of the city, but also because of zoning and other legal restrictions they find no footage in strictly residential areas. As with billiards there is a tendency toward high concentration. The Loop area, both in 1926 and 1936 showed the highest degree of concentration; but during this ten year period area number six, the Belmont Avenue district, has become a close competitor. Milwaukee Avenue, Clark and Halsted Streets and Broadway account for forty-seven percent of the total number of licensed locations. While in 1926 there were only twenty community areas with no bowling alleys, by 1936 this number had increased to thirty-one. As with billiard parlors there is a high rate of mortality amongst bowling alleys, with a resulting tendency towards the elimination of the smaller establishments and in the direction of a fewer number of larger centers.

78. *Boxing.* Boxing has been legal in Illinois only since 1925. For this and for other reasons Chicago has never been reckoned as a highly important center for this sport. Occasional top notch professional bouts are located in Chicago, and they perhaps yield as high as a million dollars a year if betting be included. One hundred and three professional matches held in Chicago in 1937 attracted 185,163 patrons and brought in nearly seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. So far as the career of a professional boxer goes, the experience in Chicago is highly discouraging. One typical boxing center has averaged less than six hundred dollars gate receipts during a year. On this basis it seems scarcely possible that the boxers themselves could have received more than ten dollars apiece for each match. An occasional bout held at the Chicago Stadium fills it to capacity, but most of them are staged in smaller centers with comparatively small followings. Hence the more important aspect of boxing in Chicago is its amateur activities. Thus nearly three-quarters of a million spectators have witnessed within the past ten years the various boxing contests sponsored by the *Chicago Tribune*. The three hundred and seventy-nine amateur boxing matches held within Chicago in 1937 attracted nearly 275,000 spectators. A check-up on the young men from eighteen to twenty-four years of age interested in the Golden Gloves Tournament in 1936 indicated a great disparity in their distribution between the various community areas of the city. Thus it was found that seven of the outer areas of the city did not enter a single boy; in six areas there was one entrant for every fifty boys. The largest proportion of these entrants came from areas 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, 56 and 74. Most of these, it will be recalled, are interstitial areas of the city characterized by diversified nationality groups, low incomes, and on the whole fewer cultural advantages.

79. *Wrestling.* In spite of considerable publicity there have been few outstanding wrestling events in Chicago for several years, and the sport as a whole does not command any tremendous following. In 1937 there were one hundred and ten professional wrestling events in Chicago with receipts of slightly over one hundred thousand dollars, and an attendance of approximately two hundred thousand. This represents a substantial increase over the attendance reported in 1935, and probably reflects improved economic conditions rather than any notable growth of interest in the sport itself. Professional wrestling is often staged with so many extraneous appeals to the spectator and there are so many factions in its following that consistent development of the sport as a sport is difficult to secure. High schools and colleges are moderately interested in the sport, although it hardly even vies with college baseball as an attraction and cannot be mentioned in the same breath with football.

80. *Baseball.* The attendance upon professional baseball games mirrors recent improved economic conditions; it also apparently reflects the definite "sales promotion" by radio and otherwise by which women and settlement groups, boys' clubs, Boy Scout Troops, school patrols and similar organizations have been stirred up to an interest in the game. During 1937 the total paid home attendance at the Cub and White Sox games reached the considerable figure of approximately one and a half millions. By contrast with the improvement in professional baseball the semi-professional activity records are falling off. On the other hand sand lot games seem the most popular of all forms of baseball. This is a significant fact from the standpoint of planning local recreational facilities. Along with this should be placed the phenomenal growth of interest in softball. It is estimated that there are now more than twenty-five hundred regularly established softball teams in this city. They represent churches, clubs, civic organizations, community centers and various commercial interests. Sometimes politicians, small merchants and particularly proprietors of retail liquor establishments equip teams as a means of advertisement. The majority of these teams play in school yards, parks and playgrounds and on vacant lots. In some locations even floodlighting systems have been installed to permit night play. Because the cost of equipment and the space required are so modest, this game is likely to constitute a growing factor in the participative as well as spectator aspects of public and private recreation for some time to come and must be reckoned with in planning.

81. *Basketball.* Basketball has now reached the state of a major sport with not only national but international recognition. It is growing in popularity both from the participative and the spectator standpoint. In

many sections of the country basketball rates next to football from the standpoint of box office receipts. Colleges, high schools, settlements, churches, as well as public park and playground agencies promote this sport. Because of the widespread distribution of basketball teams it has been impossible to get local figures of attendance, but a conservative estimate of the number of games played annually throughout the nation is set at about 1,500,000, with a total paid attendance of more than eighty million. Suffice it to say that interest in the game and the number of players tends constantly to far outstrip the provision of facilities by public and private agencies combined. With a growth in facilities it is quite possible that the total participators and spectators might be doubled.

82. *Football.* It is estimated that the financial receipts for football in Chicago mount up to approximately six million dollars. This figure includes university, college and high school amateur games, and also the professional games. Improved business conditions have been reflected in increased attendance at football games within the last two or three years. Contrary to the situation with regard to baseball, softball and basketball, football is not nearly so prevalent amongst youth. The cost of equipment probably has something to do with this fact. Nevertheless, many minor athletic clubs throughout the city are represented each year by teams playing on park athletic fields, vacant lots and in some cases even on commercial athletic fields. It is altogether possible that if the new so-called six player type of football gets a foothold in Chicago as it has in Indiana and other Midwest States it may occupy a very considerable sector in both public and private recreational programs.

83. *Golf.* The golfing needs of the Chicago area seem fairly well provided for. Experts testify that the present allotment of space in public parks for this purpose is probably more than adequate. The provision on a commercial basis of public fee courses also offers a large variety of opportunities for play within easy reach of the city. Judged by the numbers playing, this game appeals mainly to those between twenty-five and twenty-nine or at the outside between fifteen and forty years of age. The daily fee courses have been increasing rather rapidly, partly because during the depression many private clubs collapsed. Because of the competition between the relatively large number of these courses they are kept in a condition which compares favorably with many of the private clubs.

84. *Tennis.* Comparatively few commercial tennis courts find it possible to operate in competition with the increasing number and improvement in public facilities for this game. It is very evident that the interest in tennis is constantly increasing, partly because of improved facilities for

play, partly because of skillful publicizing of national and international matches between leading amateur players, partly also because of professional matches between the great tennis stars.

85. *Horse Racing.* The situation with regard to horse racing in the Chicago area is not easy to state, partly because it is so intimately associated with gambling and because the status of gambling is still undetermined in Illinois law. It is evident that the State's share or "cut" in racing revenues is low by comparison with other states; for example, California, Arkansas, Oregon, Massachusetts or Ohio. Another outstanding fact is the insignificance of the purses, presumably prizes awarded in order to stimulate better horses, in proportion to the total outlay for this sport. In the Chicago area approximately $1,400,000 are paid in the form of prizes, which is but two per cent of the total estimated outlay including betting, namely, seventy-five million dollars. Some question may be raised as to how these figures are reached. In 1937 in Chicago there were 850,000 admissions approximating two million dollars of gate receipts. During the same year there were thirty-seven million dollars recorded in bets at the tracks. There is abundant evidence to indicate that probably an equal amount was bet away from the tracks, so that seventy-five million dollars would probably not be far off from the total "take" of horse racing around Chicago. Sometimes when this question of the outgo in betting is raised people attempt to argue that somebody gets this money, even if somebody loses it and that therefore there is no economic loss. The significant consideration, however, is that in the economic sense this money is not poured into productive channels but is virtually wasted since it goes out into more racing promotion, more gambling, into extravagant consumption and frequently into criminal or quasi-criminal operations. From the standpoint of a recreation program in Chicago, at least it can be said that such an expenditure represents a distortion of values, for it amounts to fifty per cent more than the total expended on all the public schools in Chicago; it is more than twice either the entire instructional budget of the Chicago Public Schools or the total expenditures for all public forms of recreation including parks, playgrounds, libraries and museums.

Gambling tends to become associated with many major sports, even college football. Strenuous efforts have been made to purge these sports, but only the greatest alertness can prevent such corruption of these sports as horse racing commonly exemplifies or as at one time threatened baseball.

86. *The Tavern.* The study of commercial recreation in Chicago offers a none too happy picture of the liquor situation in this city. Apparently the state law is excellent of its kind, but is not adequate and could

hardly be expected to be adequate to meet the situation. It is notorious that alcohol is socially recalcitrant. The lawlessness from alcohol is a chronic situation not confined to any area or period of prohibition. The first rebellion in the United States was the so-called "Whisky Rebellion." Liquor gangsters flourished in New York three-quarters of a century ago. It may be that because of a naive faith in mere legislation unaccompanied by a continuous program of education the eighteenth amendment failed in certain particulars. It is time to raise the question whether repeal was not worse. Certainly so far as Chicago is concerned the tavern is no improvement over the saloon of 1918. In certain particulars, notably some of the cocktail bars or joints, the situation is discouragingly worse partly because of the effects upon women. In 1937 the number of saloons in Chicago exceeded even preprohibition days. In 1905 there were 8,097 saloons; in 1919, 5,262; in 1937-1938 approximately 9,000. In 1919 there was one saloon to every 519 residents; in 1934 one to every 440; in 1937-1938 there was one for every 338 people or one for every 262 inhabitants if age groups below eighteen be eliminated. In some Chicago areas the situation was still worse. In community eight, for example, there is one liquor establishment for every 242 people; in community twenty-eight there is one for every 185; in community thirty-one one for every 121; in community sixty-four one for every 113; in community thirty-three one for every 93; but in area thirty-two, the Loop District, there is actually one saloon for every seven inhabitants! It must be added that this is a mere statistical statement and that the Loop night spots are not located in this area to serve the very small Loop population, but rather the city as a whole. While one community area has no saloon at all, there are more than five hundred in areas twenty-four, twenty-eight and thirty-two. Nearly half the total licensed retail liquor dealers in Chicago are concentrated in twelve community areas. Over sixteen per cent of the 1937 retail liquor licenses were issued to addresses on five streets of which three (Clark, Madison and Halsted) had over three thousand establishments each. Certain areas on these streets were still more highly concentrated centers for the liquor business. On Madison Street, for example, seventeen licenses were issued within a single block, on Clark Street fourteen licenses for the block between 600 and 700 north. Nevertheless, in general the retail liquor locations, particularly because of their sheer number, are more widely distributed and touch more residential areas than any other form of commercial recreation in the city. Certain areas of the city are easing out the saloon by virtue of local option authority conferred by paragraph seventy-five of the state liquor law.

87. From the standpoint of control it is interesting to notice the various classifications of business associated with retail liquor dealing. Taverns cover seventy per cent of the total; restaurants, fifteen per cent; drug stores, five per cent; retail liquor stores, three per cent; grocery stores, two per cent; cabarets and night clubs less than one per cent.

88. The total intake of the liquor business in Chicago runs perilously close to one hundred million dollars a year; yet in the face of this huge cost the return to the various governmental agencies from license fees is ludicrously small. Of a total of somewhat over six million dollars the federal government received 3.7 per cent, the state of Illinois 7.4 per cent, the city of Chicago 88.9 per cent. By far the larger proportion, however, of all the city's receipts from amusement or recreational licenses came from liquor establishments.

89. It is notorious that public officials not only in America but in other parts of the world often fail to enforce the laws covering any of the so called marginal forms of recreation, namely, vice, liquor and gambling. For that reason these forms of amusement constitute in Chicago as elsewhere one of the greatest menaces not only to decency and order in a great city, but also to the honesty and efficiency of its public administration. They are plague spots so far as the corruption of police and other public officials is concerned.

90. *Dancing*. Interest in dancing in both its private and commercial aspects seems to be on the increase. This is quite apart from the temporary "jitterbug craze". In Chicago the facts indicate considerable continuity and fairly permanent patronage of public dance halls. It is not easy to pronounce a sweeping and all-inclusive judgment upon commercialized dancing in Chicago, but certain facts stand out clearly; for example, dancing is an important auxiliary feature for attracting patronage to liquor establishments and cabarets. While the better type of liquor resort provides no objectionable dancing attractions, yet on the other hand in many such places dancing degenerates to the level of vulgarity and worse. Perhaps partly for that reason many patrons of taxi dance halls seem to be transferring their activities to the taverns, particularly those frequented by unattached women. As a result, the taxi dance hall is a less significant recreational agency than it was five years ago. In the case of so-called dancing studios, it has been found that they do not always function as dancing schools. Frequently the name dancing school has been used merely as a polite designation for a center of prostitution, in this respect paralleling the situation of certain massage parlors several years ago.

91. Practically all public ballrooms in Chicago encourage the presence

of unattached women, and indeed in most instances offer them a lower rate of admission. On the whole, however, patrons of these ballrooms seem more interested in the dancing itself and less in the illicit attachments possible than is common in places where liquor and low admission rates bid for patronage. Since the repeal of the prohibition amendment, the less desirable patrons who formerly frequented the better type of ballrooms have gravitated to the tavern or the lower type ballrooms. In general it appears that objectionable dancing is tolerated less by the managements of the larger ballrooms, and closer supervision over lounges, balconies, etc. is provided by them in the effort to maintain a high "tone." At least one well known ballroom advertises positively that it will not tolerate liquor on its premises. Unfortunately this requirement is not easy to enforce, and some ballrooms still have bars, at which it is not difficult for even youthful patrons to supply themselves with liquor. Liquor and dancing are not inherent partners, but it requires much backbone in dance hall proprietors to separate them.

92. *Carnivals.* While carnivals do not bulk large in the picture of commercial recreation in Chicago and do not appear as a separate item in the license revenue table of the city, nevertheless they constitute a considerable problem. The state statute requires a written permit from the city council and stipulates that the permit shall be granted only on the condition that there shall not be set up or operated any gambling device, lottery, etc.; yet in the majority of carnivals operated in 1937 there were many concessions which, although nominally classed as games of skill, attracted popular patronage chiefly because of their gambling aspects. The carnival usually thrives in the more populous sections of the city containing large foreign population groups, runs at one location until it becomes no longer profitable, then moves on to fresh fields, usually leaving behind it no real contribution to the community and offering nothing to serve as the basis of a public accounting for their operations.

93. *Newspapers.* Apart from being in themselves a form of recreation patronized generously by the people of Chicago (to the tune of $20,000,000 a year) newspapers promote widespread recreational hobbies. During 1937, 29 annual sports events were sponsored by the five Chicago daily newspapers. A good many of the events are promoted by them, even though they may be more or less special or flash-in-the-pan schemes which do not attain the position of a regular recurring events. It is estimated that during 1937 nearly two million people were interested to the extent of either attending or participating in these newspaper-promoted programs. It is no disparagement to the newspaper to say that it is pri-

marily, under our American system, a commercial venture in itself and that therefore its primary interest is in circulation building. Consequently it may be affirmed without being construed as a criticism that most of these promotional activities of the newspapers are primarily for advertising purposes; only incidentally do they contribute to the on-going recreational life of the city. Frequently they are put on hastily, without complete and skilled leadership. They are not coordinated into any integrated plan of public or private agencies and they build primarily on the competitive motive. It must be said, however, that some of these activities may be highly educational, such for example as the cooking schools, model plane building, dance and music festivals.

J. SUMMARY ON COMMERCIAL RECREATION

94. The total investment in commercial recreation in Chicago approximately equals that in all public facilities. The annual expenditures for commercial recreation in Chicago are about five times the total outlay for school purposes. Chicagoans spend nearly ten times as much on commercialized amusements as they do for public recreational facilities, yet apparently the city is so poor that it cannot buy new properties needed for play purposes nor even improve or maintain existing facilities without the aid of federal funds. Taverns and gambling constitute the two most expensive items in the bill for commercial recreation, and it is notorious that they are the most socially recalcitrant. For those two items alone Chicagoans pour out each year more than five times the total cost of the public recreational system and almost enough to buy all of the parks and playgrounds in the whole city. On the single illegal gambling game of "policy" twenty millions a year are worse than wasted, that is, more than ten times the total appropriations for all the recreational work of the Park District. Worse still, some of this waste money comes out of the pockets of the taxpayer in Chicago in the form of public relief.

95. Every year Chicagoans spend as much on horse racing and gambling at the tracks as Northwestern University was able to raise in gifts and bequests in seventeen years (i.e., thirty-seven million dollars). The University of Chicago, with all its lavish benefactors, during the same period was only able to equal the total of gambling at the tracks and away from the tracks. Since the repeal of the prohibition amendment it would appear that Chicago has spent as much on this unholy trinity of liquor, gambling, and vice as forty-nine major colleges and universities of the United States were able to raise in seventeen years. They cost every man, woman, and child in Chicago something over fifty-six dollars a year.

96. It cannot be said that liquor, gambling, or vice pay their way,

for they are all delinquency breeders, almost verging on the borderline of overt illegality. They are always stigmata of social backwardness. They almost inevitably depress property values. They tend to displace more solid values in recreation, as in other human satisfactions. They corrupt municipal administration. The facts in Volume II of this report show clearly how officials fail to enforce the laws, how particularly taverns and gambling joints appear to violate the law with impunity. Wherever vice, gambling, or liquor get a foothold in a community they almost inevitably set up a partnership with criminality and crooked politics. Liquor establishments are more widely distributed than any other form of commercial recreation and more than any other form of commercial recreation (even more than gambling at horse races) they violate the law.

97. *Licensing.* Licensing serves a double purpose in American government. It is presumed to act as a regulator for the maintenance of moral standards and the protection of the health and safety of the people. Its secondary purpose is to open up a source of revenue. As a revenue producing measure licensing constitutes a minor factor in the financial picture of Chicago. Receipts from all forms of licensing make up only 16 per cent of the total revenues of the city. Licensing for commercial recreation, although the rates are relatively high, yields approximately only 11.14 per cent of the city's income for corporate purposes. Of this amount, taverns and retail liquor establishments and the additional fees for dance music in these places bring in 96.74 per cent. If retail liquor licenses are excluded from the figures, license fees for the other forms of commercial recreation bring to the city treasury only 0.36 per cent of the city's revenue. In 1937, although within the city of Chicago nearly one hundred millions were spent on liquor, the city actually received only $5,606,400 in license fees. The Federal government took $233,375, the state $466,550. The only other important item in the city's license receipts from commercial recreation is furnished by motion picture theaters, which yield $105,825.

98. Probably if license fees were collected in every case the total revenue might be somewhat enlarged, but in no event can licenses be counted upon as a major source of municipal revenue, nor apparently is mere licensing a very satisfactory form of regulation, since, as this Survey shows, taverns in Chicago averaged more than three violations within the brief period in which they were studied, and the police department has a censorship commission with very specific rules for the oversight of moving pictures, burlesque shows, and the like. Even so a notable number of moving picture theaters, natatoriums, and bowlettes (until they were wiped out by law) have been known to operate without licenses.

99. Study of the licensing situation in Chicago today shows the relative permanency and continuity of interest in certain forms of commercial recreation outside the field of the motion picture, notably bowling, billiards, and dancing. But individual establishments experience a considerable mortality rate.

K. COMMENTS ON PRIVATE AGENCIES

100. *Services of Private Agencies.* While from the financial standpoint private recreational agencies play a relatively small role by comparison with commercial recreation and do not bulk large in their equipment or facilities when compared with those offered by public agencies, nevertheless they serve a highly important purpose and have played an indispensable part in the recreational history of America. They have been preeminently the pioneers and pathfinders for the public schools, the playgrounds, and other elements in the recreational complex. They have done the primary experimentation in supervised playgrounds, in arts and crafts, in manual training, in many hobbies, in amateur dramatics, and perhaps most of all, in group work. They have furnished leaders to the public agencies. They have promoted professional education for recreation. Thus the settlements have performed a service quite out of proportion to their budgets, personnel, and facilities. They are still centers for experimentation and way showing. These agencies and others like the Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, and boys' clubs have offered an element of flexibility and adaptation in meeting the community's recreational needs.

101. The income of private recreational agencies has apparently declined both absolutely and relatively in spite of strong efforts to maintain interest in them as morale builders. They would have had very difficult sledding indeed had it not been for the aid of such government agencies as the WPA and the NYA. From these two sources literally hundreds of more or less trained people have been added to the personnel of the various private agencies in Chicago.

102. *Overlapping and Duplication.* There seems to be little or no overlapping or duplication in the facilities and services of private recreational agencies, particularly as concerns settlements, boys' clubs, Y.M.C.A.'s, and the various other types of youth service organizations. Only a small fraction of youth is enrolled in or served by these agencies. There may be some question about the overlapping and competitive activities of certain religious agencies. The statistics show that one single community area, number 28, has 126 churches. Some of the others have none, or only a very small number. It is true that this one area is a notorious center of social disorganization and disadvantage. It is possible that all of these

religious agencies together with the various private secular recreational agencies are working to full capacity and are therefore not superfluous. But the very expression of a doubt or uncertainty on this point brings into clear relief the very positive and unquestioned fact that there is little or no scientific planning from the standpoint of locating and equipping religious agencies in the city of Chicago. Each denomination or interest within a denomination plans for itself, nor does it co-operate in such planning with other private agencies nor with school or public recreational facilities. About the only control in effect is the financial support received from individual contributors, the Council of Social Agencies, or the Community Fund, when any appeal is made to those bodies as members or beneficiaries.

103. *Religious Associations.* The Y.M.C.A. is the oldest, largest, and most varied of the nondenominational religious associations. In 1937 over two and a half million people attended its supervised programs. While its membership has been growing it has not grown in proportion to the city's growth nor in proportion to its growth in income. In 1937 only thirty-three per cent of its total budget went for program activities. Approximately twenty per cent of its total membership do not pay dues. Of its dues-paying members just over one-fourth are under seventeen years of age, one-fifth range between eighteen and twenty-four years, two-fifths are twenty-five years or older, twelve per cent of its members are girls and women. The Y.M.C.A. still runs true to form and endeavors to maintain a balanced program of athletics, moral and religious instruction and education. It manifests considerable flexibility and ability to adapt. One evidence of this ability is its planned decentralization through strategically located branches and outposts.

The Y.W.C.A. reaches a much smaller group (only 38,542 in 1936-1937). While its work may be conceived as intensive rather than extensive, it would appear that its distinctly service budget is less than fifty per cent of its total budget and that approximately only 27,000 girls and women were served by its programs at a rough unit cost of ten dollars per capita.

The C.Y.O., although only eight years old, now operates in 167 Chicago parishes, i. e. over sixty per cent of the total number of Roman Catholic Churches in the community, with a membership of over one hundred twenty thousand families. It covers a wide range of activities which attract large numbers of youthful participants and spectators. During 1937-1938 over one hundred thousand individuals participated in its social and recreational programs. Its relatively low operating costs result from the policy of utilizing to a very considerable degree already existing parish

facilities. The B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, although only three years old, has already some seventy-five hundred members.

104. *Churches.* The religious pattern in Chicago centers about approximately eighteen hundred and fifty churches with 1,650,000 adherents, nominal or otherwise. On the basis of national figures it would appear that these churches represent an investment of approximately one hundred and seventy-five million dollars and an annual income of twenty-six million dollars. Two-thirds of these churches maintain their services in English alone; the remainder constitute almost a tower of Babel with languages ranging from Arabic, Assyrian, Chinese, Korean to various European languages such as Bohemian, Italian, French and Danish.

Two-thirds of Chicago's nine hundred and thirty-five census tracts include some religious organizations. Every one of the seventy-five community areas holds one or more churches. It is thus possible to say that in Chicago saloons and churches are the most widely distributed of all social and recreational agencies! The most rapid expansion of church building occurred in the decade from 1920 to 1930, but nearly half the churches have been in their present locations over twenty years.

These churches present a most challenging total of potential facilities for meeting the recreational as well as the religious needs of the people of this city. They can probably provide seven hundred thousand seats or one seat for every five persons in the community. Amongst their facilities should be noted 228 gymnasiums, 913 dining rooms accommodating nearly 200,000 persons, 391 kindergartens and nurseries, 5,511 club rooms. Many of them have varied musical equipment including pianos, band instruments, radios and sound movie machines; 35 report bowling alleys, 175 have children's playgrounds, 289 have dramatic groups, about 300 participate in interchurch athletic competitions. In addition to using their own plant, churches frequently utilize public and other private facilities for swimming, picnics, dances, bowling and basketball. Apparently in both the Roman and the Evangelical churches many of the old taboos and prejudices against recreation are being broken down. How far recreational attractions can increase or even maintain present levels of church attendance and membership is a matter of concern, but to answer that question would require not only a deeper insight into the facts but also the prophet's mantle. It would be a grave error, however, to assume that any or all forms of recreation could take the place of the spiritual services which organized religion is presumed to offer.

105. *Settlements.* Nearly half the settlements in Chicago are concentrated in two community areas, number twenty-four (West Town)

and twenty-eight (Near West Side). Over two-thirds of the settlements have located in five contiguous areas, namely number eight (Near North Side), twenty-four (West Town), twenty-eight (Near West Side), twenty-nine (North Lawndale), thirty-one (Lower West Side). All of these are more or less so-called "blighted" areas heavily loaded with immigrant or Negro populations. Areas eight and twenty-eight, for example, have a heavy Negro and Italian concentration; area twenty-four, Polish and Italian; twenty-nine, Jewish; thirty-one, highly cosmopolitan, with Polish, Czecho-Slovakian and Lithuanian predominating.

Public education in these districts is provided for the most part in buildings erected during the last century when these sections were recognized as the homes of the city's most prosperous citizens. Public parks and playground facilities are altogether lacking in certain parts of these areas and are inadequate to meet the needs even where they are provided.

That the absence of suitable recreational opportunities combined with the unsuitable housing of the district and the low economic status of the residents has had an unsocial effect is attested by police records of juvenile delinquency. An analysis of some 20,000 juvenile delinquency cases of sufficient importance to reach the Police Division of the Juvenile Court reveals that community areas twenty-four and twenty-eight are by far the worst from this standpoint. During five years from 1931 through 1935, 2,622 cases were recorded of delinquents residing in community area twenty-four and 3,544 in area twenty-eight. These represented eleven and fifteen per cent, respectively, of the city's total.

The boundaries of the areas served by these settlements overlap, as is shown in the map opposite page 14 of Volume III, but apparently there is no real duplication of their work because, particularly in so far as youth is concerned, only a small proportion is actually cared for by the settlements. It would appear that usually no more than one-fifth of the boy population in the neighborhood of these agencies take part in their programs. No typical program can be ascribed to the settlements, although in general it may be asserted that their indoor activities, which cover a wide range, constitute by far their most important and characteristic service. Their facilities for outdoor play are limited in spite of the fact that they have long been recognized as pioneers in the playground movement. Twenty-eight settlements supervise playground areas, most of which are located on their own property. Others regularly use and assist in the supervision of public facilities located in the immediate vicinity. The comparatively limited space in the playgrounds provided by settlements offers little scope for the athletic interests of the older boys. None of the agencies,

according to reports submitted, included any space for football, soccer and baseball; only a few included softball diamonds on their own property. Most of the agencies overcame this lack of equipment, at least in part, within the past few years by participating in the vacant lot program of the Chicago Recreation Commission and the National Youth Administration.

Since the compilation of this Survey one settlement, namely Eli Bates House, has closed its doors, turned over the lease of its buildings to the North Side Boys' Club, transferred the proceeds and good-will of the Eli Bates Shop to Hull House, apportioned its nursery equipment between two day nurseries, and given other parts of its equipment to other agencies. In explanation of this move it called attention to "very great changes of conditions in the neighborhood," among which may be noted the following facts:

> "The newly formed Catholic Youth Organization has naturally and properly grown among Italians who formerly constituted the largest part of the settlement clientele; WPA assistance has expanded the activities of family service organizations conducted under leadership in the parks; finally, ethnological changes in the district rendered the conditioned conduct of a family program increasingly difficult."

106. *Boys' Clubs.* The number of and membership in boys' clubs is increasing due partly to their having secured the patronage of outstanding men both in the nation and in Chicago. Nevertheless the membership in boys' clubs either in the nation as a whole or in Chicago is still inconsiderable by comparison with the total boy population. All of the boys' clubs in Chicago together account for less than twenty-two thousand boys out of a total of half a million between the ages of nine and eighteen. The boys' club in Chicago exists in only ten areas, usually in districts marked by shifting neighborhoods, progressive deterioration in housing, poverty, and the intrusion of industry. Apparently the great majority of members of boys' clubs are drawn from a radius of one half mile. While the major appeal to the boys apparently is to the groups between ten and fourteen years of age, nevertheless eleven per cent of the total city-wide membership are reported as young men eighteen years of age and over. Because of the high number of youth untouched by either settlements or boys' clubs there is no real competition between them. Most of them are located in the same districts, therefore their programs could easily be co-ordinated. Although these agencies are officially known as boys' clubs, it is interesting to discover that twenty per cent of the membership of the Chicago Boys' Clubs are girls. Since the publication of this Survey considerable publicity has been given to the housing of a boys' club in one of the police stations, and in other cities of America a considerable movement

has developed in the direction of police sponsorage for boys' clubs as a step in the direction of preventing juvenile delinquency. If this fact is a straw indicating trends, it is equally a revelation of the fact that apparently Chicago is not well provided with boys' clubs, or else that their programs and their personnel are such that they make but comparatively slight appeal to the boys and girls of Chicago. It is equally significant from the standpoint of planning recreation that whether or not there is need for them at present, there are few agencies in Chicago which would qualify under the designation "girls' clubs" in the same sense that this term has been applied to service organizations for boys.

107. *Boy Scouts.* Scouting has attracted a considerable amount of interest in the boy population of Chicago, and Boy Scout troops are fairly well distributed all over the city; yet there is only one scout troop in seven areas of the city (thirty-three, thirty-six, forty-seven, fifty-one, fifty-five, fifty-seven, sixty-four). While it is true that there is none at all in six areas (thirty-two, forty-eight, fifty, fifty-four, sixty-two, seventy) it is clear that the eligible population of those six areas is relatively scanty. In spite of the wide distribution of scouting, less than ten per cent, namely, twenty thousand, of the total boy population between ten and seventeen years old are actively engaged in scouting. Churches apparently sponsor four-fifths of all units of scouting activity. Of these, the Roman Catholic churches account for twenty per cent, Jewish five per cent, Protestant fifty-five per cent. Scouting operates at comparatively low cost, approximately seven and a half dollars per capita in 1937, which is only a little more than one half the cost for boys' clubs. In all probability the largest single item in this contrast of costs is represented by plant and fixed charges of the boys' clubs and by their almost continuous operation.

Scouting is still more or less devoted to the interests of boys coming from the middle and higher class economic levels. It is only within recent years that the scout movement has made appreciable progress in the so-called underprivileged areas of the city. This lag has been attributed to several factors. The purchase of uniforms was for many years regarded as a barrier to membership on the part of many underprivileged children, but recently the cost of such equipment has been materially reduced. Another real obstacle to growth of scouting in the "slum" districts of the city was the unreceptive attitude on the part of the youth of the neighborhoods, attributable largely to ineffective presentation of the scouting program. Within the past three years, however, active assistance of civic organizations has done much toward increasing the number of scout-troops in these districts. In recognition of the function of the program as a means of

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delinquency prevention and correction, the Boy Scout movement has been given considerable impetus in the three areas under the jurisdiction of the Chicago Area Project.

108. *Girls' Service Organizations.* The membership total of the three major girls' service organizations, namely Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, and Girl Reserves, is scarcely two per cent of the total available girl population between the ages of six and eighteen. Apparently the total impact of these girls' service organizations is weakened by rivalries between the organizations themselves. Of the three named, the Girl Scouts is the only one which shows a vigorously increasing membership. All three operate at a comparatively low cost. The Girl Scouts and the Campfire Girls cost approximately five dollars per capita per year. Girl Scout troops are fairly well distributed over the city, but derive two-thirds of their membership from the middle and upper classes. The Campfire Girls are more highly concentrated: thirty-two areas have none at all, twenty have only one group each. The severing of the Girl Reserves movement from the public school system in Chicago caused a considerable decline in the number of clubs and in membership. An attempt is being made by the Y.W.C.A., which sponsors this activity, to replace the loss of public school meeting places by utilizing the facilities of religious organizations and other agencies.

109. *Delinquency Areas Not Served by Boys' Clubs, Settlements, etc.* A comparison of the maps showing heavy proportions of juvenile delinquency with those on which are set down the various recreational or service agencies for youth reveals considerable discrepancy; for example, in area eight there is no boys' club, no local of the B'nai B'rith, although the area project in a sense may be said to supply this need; in area twenty-seven there is no boys' club, no Catholic Youth Organization, no B'nai B'rith, no Young Men's Christian Association, only two church gymnasiums and only one Boy Scout Troop; area thirty-five has no boys' club, no B'nai B'rith, but has a Catholic Youth Organization Hotel, one church gymnasium and one lone Boy Scout Troop; area thirty-six has no boys' club, no Catholic Youth Organization, no Young Men's Christian Association, no B'nai B'rith, but it has one church gymnasium and one Boy Scout Troop; area fifty-four has no boys' club, no Boy Scouts, no Y.M.C.A, no church gymnasium, its one youth service organization seems to be a single C.Y.O.; area sixty-one has no boys' club nor Y.M.C.A. facilities. In other words, there is not a single boys' club or girls' club in these rather notorious delinquency areas, and other provisions for this type of recreational activity are rather scanty. The lack of this type of recreational activity can hardly be

said to be compensated by the existence of several hundred independent non-institutionalized social athletic clubs commonly known as basement clubs. It is true that they usually include the somewhat older age groups ranging from seventeen upward and that the greater proportion of their membership ranges between twenty and thirty years of age. Some of these groups seem innocuous enough but others have attracted police investigations which resulted in their enforced closing. Several of them have been the scene of some of the city's most scandalous and serious sex crimes. Most of their appeal is from indoor activities. Few of them have facilities for major athletic sports, either indoor or outdoor. Those which provide such activities utilize vacant lots, school yards, playgrounds, and occasionally settlement house gymnasiums and Y.M.C.A. pools. It is difficult to keep track of this particular type of club because of its more or less "perishable" nature and because of its mobility. These clubs however may well be taken as a hint and a challenge to both public and private recreational agencies. They indicate a very large section of the youth population of the city which has not been attracted to the regular existing agencies or for whom no provision has been made. They represent the spontaneous organization of young people in the effort to provide for themselves recreational activities, however ill assorted, without too many constricting rules. It may well be also that their vogue is due partly to their desire to be free from any hint of religious affiliation or taint of dependence upon charity, either public or private.

110. *Nationalistic Organizations.* In 1930 less than a million of Chicago's 3,376,000 inhabitants were listed by the United States Census as Americans, the remaining nearly two and a half million presenting a variegated pattern of foreign nationalities. In spite of radio, moving pictures, improved transportation, citizenship activities of immigration authorities, settlements, public schools and other agencies, these nationality groups still retain many of their original culture traits including various recreation patterns. Some of these organizations have their own buildings and equipment; some function closely with their churches; others utilize facilities of public or private agencies.

Regardless of such questions as absorption, cultural diffusion and interpenetration of hyphenated Americanism, these organizations offer a natural and more or less spontaneous avenue for recreation and education.

111. *Clubs and Associations.* Women clubs have long been cognizant of recreation problems and have been active in trying to raise standards, for example, of moving pictures, to secure more adequate play facilities for school children, and to open up schools for wider community use.

One hundred thousand members of Chicago women's clubs are affiliated with federations. Perhaps as many more are not so affiliated. Four hundred thousand women are members of the Catholic women's clubs. The Parent Teachers Associations number sixty thousand members in Chicago. We thus have between six hundred and seven hundred thousand women in Chicago organized for purposes which usually include recreation as well as civic work, and they wield considerable influence. It is highly likely that they could be even more influential if their power could be focused with that of other agencies and organizations for combating anti-social leisure time forces, opening school buildings as social centers, and directing local vacant lot or small park play activities.

The men's clubs and organizations are more diverse in pattern; most of them exist primarily for professional purposes or personal diversion and so far have had little to offer by way of helping in city-wide public recreational policy.

The so-called luncheon service clubs seem to have reached almost the saturation point. They have frequently sponsored and aided certain forms of social welfare work including boys' and girls' clubs; but here again their prime interest is in the promotion of personal friendships, business ethics, mutual understanding between various trades and professions, and mutual education and entertainment.

The American Legion in Chicago is devoted primarily to protecting the veterans' interests, to amusement and to combating "subversive social forces." Incidentally, they aid in promoting junior baseball teams and local sports and play facilities. Sometimes Posts unite in a co-operative venture for this purpose.

While the membership of some of these clubs and organizations for men and women may have reached the saturation point, or may have reached the point where existing facilities can accommodate no more, it would appear that organizations for both men and women continue to increase in number. Apparently the human hunger for organization has not yet been appeased. This is notable for example in the hundreds of hobby clubs with comparatively no special promotional work by either public or private agencies. Hobby clubs have formed themselves spontaneously, set up their own periodicals, organized special exhibitions, maintained correspondence even on an international scale, and perhaps are pointing the way to both public and private agencies by way of methods, programs, and personnel.

112. *Fraternal Organizations.* The recreational role which fraternal insurance clubs and indeed all types of fraternal orders have played in American history cannot be ignored. In Chicago alone approximately

three hundred thousand men and women hold membership in various nationwide fraternal orders either of the so-called social type or more or less insurance type. In addition, more than one hundred thousand more are members of the more important nationalistic fraternal insurance orders (notably the Polish men and women, the Italian, and the Swedish). Still further, over seventy-five thousand members are enrolled in nationalistic religious associations with mutual benefit features and recreational activities. Thus nearly half a million men and women in Chicago secure at least part of their recreation from this type of organization. It is true that the development of commercial and public recreation, the spread of social security measures, the development of governmental and commercial insurance tend to reduce the appeal of the benefit type of fraternal order. It is likely also that certain forms of commercial recreation such as the movie and the radio tend to fill a gap heretofore supplied to a certain extent by social and fraternal orders. Nevertheless there is apparently still a large place for gratifying the human desire for "recognition" and "response" and for the opportunity to participate in colorful ritual, ceremony, and drama. American life, with its tradition of subduing the wilderness and its conscious rejection of many of the ceremonials of European aristocratic or local ethnic cultural groups, manifests a certain impoverishment in ceremony and ritual which an occasional Fourth of July or Decoration Day or historical pageant hardly satisfies. Both the public and private recreational agencies have to a certain extent capitalized on this lack through encouraging folk dancing, peasant arts and crafts, or holidays amongst the foreign born populations. Some churches have aided likewise, but there seems still to be an opportunity for existing public and private agencies to provide further facilities for meeting this human hunger.

113. We have already pointed out the lack of co-operation or co-ordination among the three major public agencies administering recreation in Chicago. There may be no duplication among their facilities; if so, this happy situation has just happened rather than been thought out. This same observation holds true in the main so far as the relationships between public, private, and commercial agencies is concerned; nor is the situation much better when one turns to view the activities of the private secular or religious agencies. A picture of confusion presents itself even under the highest motivation of seeking to do good.

114. *Contribution of Private Agencies to Law Enforcement.* A good many American communities are apparently of the opinion that enforcement of the law with regard to vice, sale of liquor, gambling, moving pictures, pornography, obscenity, etc., cannot be left entirely to public

officials. This opinion is the result of several rude jolts. For example, in so far as the prohibition amendment may be said to have failed, that failure was due primarily to a naive faith in law and law enforcing officials. The great campaign of education which had precipitated the amendment was more or less forgotten and allowed to lapse. It is now evident to the reformers that the education of public opinion was the fundamental requisite to successful law enforcement. In line with this awakening and particularly with regard to commercial recreation in Chicago there is a growing belief that a large field is open to either existing agencies or to those which might be created for the purpose of illuminating the public and creating sentiment favorable to maintaining law and law enforcement. Heretofore comparatively few private welfare or reform agencies have been concerned with these problems. A notable contrast to this generalization is offered by the Juvenile Protective Association, which because of the relationship between juvenile delinquency and certain forms of recreation has taken an active part in forcing upon the attention of proper law enforcement bodies the more flagrant violations of certain laws and ordinances. Likewise, the Committee of Fifteen, which concerns itself with problems of commercialized vice, has done yeoman service through its investigations and reports upon the tendency of certain conditions in retail liquor establishments, dance halls, and centers of prostitution. In general it is a matter of record that in the attempt to secure the proper purchase upon public opinion, let us say on the subject of control of liquor, temperance and other workers have not by any means always been of one mind. Since the publication of the first two volumes of this Survey their comment has been diverse and even contradictory. There is something lacking in the way of coherence and unity in their educational work. They have not always remembered that the sequence should be in four words: educate, agitate, then legislate. And they have sometimes ignored the advances in techniques of propaganda, communication, and education which now tend to utilize genuine scientific research, police, automobile, and insurance experience rather than to trust in an appeal to fear in startling statements or pictures of physiological abnormalities.

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